

# California History

The Magazine of the California Historical Society

summer 1981





THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, founded in 1871, preserves historical materials and facilitates their use by everyone interested in California's heritage. The Society's publications, programs, and library services seek to stimulate interest in and achieve a wider appreciation and knowledge of the historical events and ideas that continue to shape life in California today. Membership is open to all.

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#### COVER

A sampan on San Francisco Bay sometime during the late 1800s. It was between 1850 and 1851 that Chinese immigrants to California founded the state's salt water fishing industry. These Chinese fishermen were important to the business up through the turn of the century. For more of their activities please turn to the article beginning on page 142. *Courtesy of the National Maritime Museum, San Francisco.*

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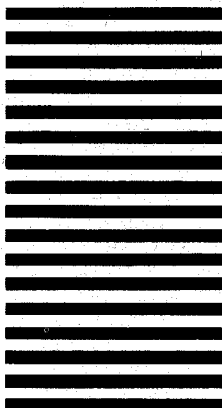
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# SAN FRANCISCO'S

San Francisco's Hellenic-American community is one of the oldest in the United States. Its roots were planted in the early 1900s when hundreds of youths, mostly single males from the towns and villages of Greece, began detrainning in Oakland at the eastern end of San Francisco Bay and taking the ferry to San Francisco's embarcadero at the foot of Market Street. Hundreds more from the Southwest and the Pacific Northwest were also being greeted by relatives or potential employers at the Southern Pacific depot in the southeastern end of the city. A short distance from both ferry landing and train depot stood the cheap rooming houses where they would renew old associations and begin new ones, becoming one of the last European ethnic groups to settle on the West Coast.

As San Francisco's Greek-speaking population increased, it extended its boundaries along Third Street between Harrison and Market Streets in the district called South of Market. For nearly half a century, 1905-1945, this area was to contain the heart of Greek Town, a community of immigrants and their families representing one of a score of ethnic "cities within a city," as well as a central reference point for residents of smaller Greek communities throughout Northern California.<sup>1</sup>

What traces are there of an early Greek presence on the West Coast? How can the origins of a Greek settlement in San Francisco be accounted for? What

George P. Daskarolis, the son of Greek immigrants, is a native of San Francisco. He holds a doctorate in history from Western Colorado University and is currently an instructor of history at Merritt College, Oakland. This study was made possible in part by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, and is one of the first to closely examine the San Francisco Greek community in over twenty years.

traditions, attitudes and skills did the Greek pioneers bring with them? Why did they head west, and how did they interact with the general community?

Greeks in the service of the major global powers were involved in the various phases of discovery, exploration and expansion that led to the eventual settlement of San Francisco. Johann Griego (John the Greek) accompanied Columbus himself on his second voyage.<sup>2</sup> Pedro de Candia (Petros the Cretan) became Francisco Pizarro's commander of artillery in Peru not long before his chief was felled by rebel officers in 1541.<sup>3</sup> In 1598 Juan Griego served with the Oñate expedition that first settled New Mexico. His family included three sons who established residence near Albuquerque.<sup>4</sup>

The best known of the early Greek mariners to visit the West Coast is Juan de Fuca, alias Apostolos Valerianos, a native of the Ionian island of Cephalonia, who served Madrid faithfully as Pilot to the Royal Fleet in the West Indies for over forty years. His one great opportunity to achieve fame and fortune came in 1592, when he was made ship's captain and commissioned to find a shorter route to the East. Fuca sailed as far as 47° or 48° north latitude and discovered the hundred-mile long passage between Vancouver Island and the State of Washington in the Pacific Northwest that bears his name.<sup>5</sup>

It is not surprising to learn that Greek-born subjects also aided Russian expansion to the Pacific Coast. In his excellent study of Russian America, Hector Chevigny refers to the "easy going Greek-born Evstrat Delarof." During the period of the Czar's Alaskan adventure Delarof represented several trading companies, and for eight years (1783-1791) was nominally in charge of all Russian commercial



# GREEK COLONY—

operations in the Aleutians and Alaska.<sup>6</sup>

At the time of the California gold rush, a tiny band of Greek-born adventurers joined the thousands who sought out the precious metal. According to the Federal Census of 1850, there were nine persons residing in the state who gave Greece as their country of birth.<sup>7</sup> Ten years later there were eighty-seven additional Greek-born residents in the state, one of whom was a former camel driver named George Caralambo who lived in Los Angeles. “Greek George,” as he was called, later acquired some notoriety when the bandit Tiburcio Vasquez was captured at his home in 1874.<sup>8</sup>

Like their compatriots in parts of New England, Greek fishermen were active both inside and outside San Francisco Bay at an early date. A local newspaper’s description of the city’s fisheries in 1875 stated that “the nationalities of those engaged in bay fishing are represented by Austrian, Italian, and Greek, of whom, perhaps, there are over one hundred constantly at work.”<sup>9</sup> In 1887, there were some fifty of them living in the city, all of whom were members of the Italian-dominated Fishermen’s Union.<sup>10</sup>

Few early Greek pioneers established permanent roots in San Francisco. They were generally older migrant men, possessed of few skills, whose names were usually Anglicized. Most lived just off the Embarcadero. Many remained unmarried, or married American women and were childless.<sup>11</sup>

California’s Greek population continued its slow growth until the period between 1890 and 1910, when it increased from 269 to nearly 8,000, nearly one-third of whom settled in San Francisco. This population increase reflected that of the entire nation:

*evolution of an  
ethnic community  
1890-1945*



*The Nicolas Antipa family photographed  
about 1908.*

between 1899 and 1910 over 216,000 Hellenes entered the United States; more than 4,000 gave California as their destination.<sup>12</sup>

Although the great majority of new arrivals settled along the eastern seaboard, many Greeks headed west to find work, or to escape the ruinous *padrone* system that permeated the large eastern cities, or to be reunited with relatives, or simply because, as one pioneer family member explained, "they couldn't go any farther."<sup>13</sup> San Francisco's reputation as the leading commercial, financial and cultural center west of Chicago obviously stimulated this westward movement.

Many Greeks reached the city after laboring in railroad companies' section gangs, having joined temporary crews that were put to work extending the railway system in various parts of the state and in the Pacific Northwest. Drawn by reports of higher wages, others worked as repairmen, earning up to

fifty cents more for a ten-hour day than their compatriots in Chicago.

In San Francisco, scores of Greek laborers went directly from railroading to the city's carbarns. A sizable number of Cretans made up conductor-and-gripman teams on the downtown cable car lines. In at least one instance, a disbanding work gang's foreman-turned-labor-agent persuaded all or most of his countrymen to head for the city *en masse* to obtain jobs with the United Railroads, corporate owner of nearly all of the city's street railways after 1902.<sup>14</sup> Having outlived their usefulness as strikebreakers, scores of Greek youths came to the Bay Area to escape the violence-scarred mining regions of Utah and Colorado.<sup>15</sup> At a time when ever larger numbers of Greeks were willing to go wherever there were jobs, the construction boom that followed San Francisco's catastrophic earthquake and fire drew hundreds more to the city.<sup>16</sup> More than 1,600 reached California in

*Prime Minister Elefterios Venizelos  
meeting with members of the Hellenic  
Liberal League at the Fairmont Hotel in  
December, 1921.*





*This photo was taken shortly after the completion of the Holy Trinity Greek Orthodox Church in 1907. Situated at Seventh and Harrison Streets near the heart of Greek Town, it remained the Greek community's religious headquarters until the 1920s.*

1907 alone.<sup>17</sup> First arrivals sent for relatives or compatriots from the same town or village.

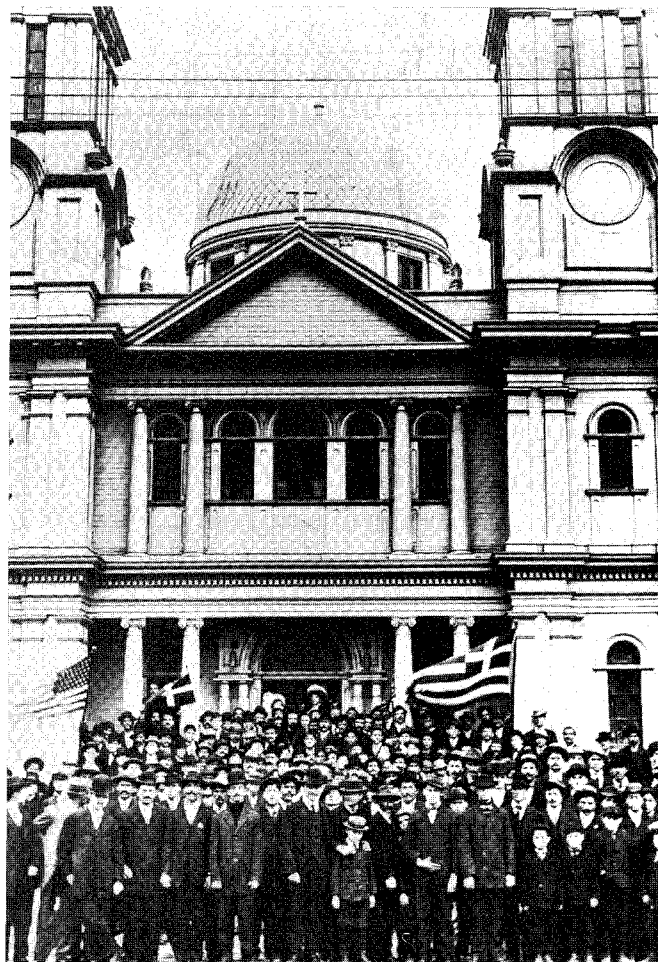
Many of those Greeks who arrived in the San Francisco Bay Region during the 1890s and early 1900s came from three areas: the village of Kyparissi on the east coast of the Peloponnesus; the village of Ysternia, on the island of Tinos of the Cyclades chain; and the port town of Galaxidi, in central Greece. There were also several from the island of Cephalonia and from Laconia, in the southern Peloponnesus.<sup>18</sup>

Even prior to 1890, more Greek residents could be found in the city's South of Market district than in any other sector. It was an old district, containing growing numbers of hotels, boarding houses, restaurants and one-third of the city's pawnshops, charities and missions, all of which testified to its increasingly working class population.<sup>19</sup>

The South of Market district's working class character was retained after the earthquake and fire of 1906. The entire area was rebuilt within three years, even as many of its 65,000 residents moved into the adjacent Potrero Hill and Mission districts to the south and west, while those who could afford it joined the exodus to the newly emerging Richmond and Sunset districts even farther west.<sup>20</sup>

It was "south of the slot" (so named because of the cable car slot that ran along Market Street) that scores, then hundreds of young, unskilled agrarians came to seek their fortunes. They found their first job opportunities with such industrial firms as American Can and the San Francisco and Pacific Glass Works, while from its offices at Fourth and Mission Streets the Union Iron Works sent hundreds more to its twenty acre site at Hunters Point, then one of the largest and most complete shipyards in the United States.<sup>21</sup>

In a city as commercially diverse and expansive as San Francisco, the opportunities for economic ad-



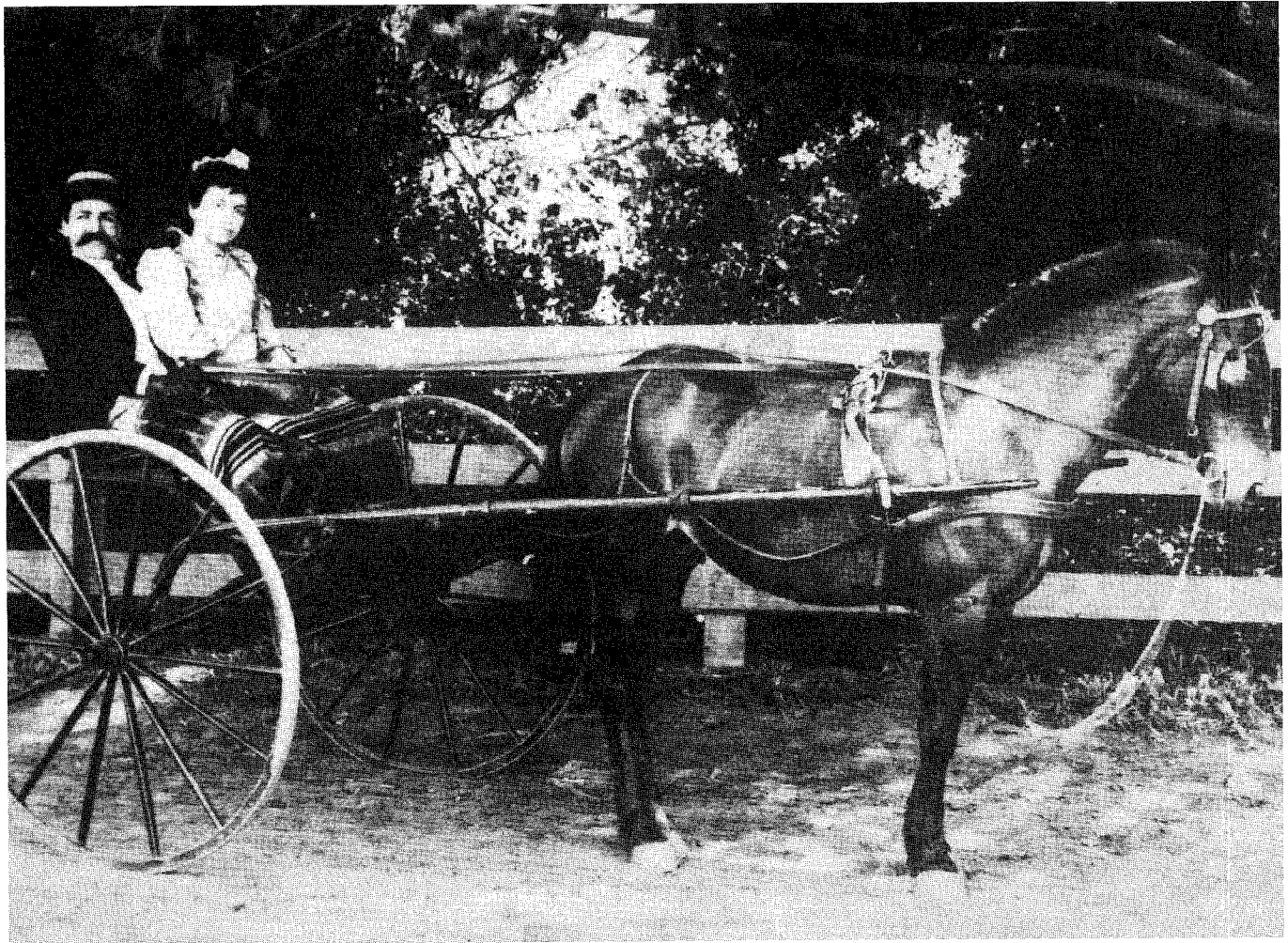
vancement must have seemed virtually unlimited. As erstwhile laborers and peddlers began opening small dry goods stores, cafes, coffee houses and candy stores, a Greek-oriented business district sprang up in an area bounded by Market, Harrison, Third and Fifth Streets. By 1910 there were enough Greek-owned businesses, particularly along Third and Folsom Streets, to provide jobs for compatriots as dishwashers and janitors.<sup>22</sup>

San Francisco's commerce and trade appealed to the Greek immigrant. Business ownership was a source of pride, financial independence and proof of success. It also provided wider contact with the general public, accelerated the process of Americanization, and helped determine the leadership and direction of the Hellenic community and its various institutions.<sup>23</sup>

By the mid-twenties, San Francisco's business establishments included hundreds of Greek-owned and operated restaurants, groceries and shoe shine stands.



*Nicholas and Helen Athanasiadou Damianakis riding in the Berkeley hills in the 1890s. Nicholas became a charter council member of Holy Trinity Church and business leader, while Helen formed one of the earliest Greek women's organizations in the United States. Their six children became the first fully university educated Greek-American offspring in the San Francisco Bay Area, and the Damianakes home was the site of numerous cultural events.*



In 1927, the Associated Greek Press published a "Greek Business Guide and Directory." Its listings reveal the extent to which the city's Greeks had entered the business world, ranging from auto repairmen and bank representatives to taxicab and theatre owners and upholsterers, as well as nearly two hundred cafe and restaurant owners.<sup>24</sup>

Greek Town produced several business success stories: the Molaikides brothers built the Golden

Brand Bottling Company; A. K. Thanos operated his own liquor distributorship; the Fotenos Brothers wholesale butchers was one of at least three that were begun in the vicinity of Third and Folsom Streets; Nick Daskarolis became known as the produce district's "onion and potato king" in the 1930s; the Sarantitis brothers operated the Golden West Bakery; and George Christopher's dairy company became a major supplier in the 1940s.<sup>25</sup>



## San Francisco's Greek Colony

Among the earliest Greek-owned enterprises that expanded far beyond the colony's boundaries was Kockos Bros. wholesale grocers which claimed a five million dollar gross in 1920, with outlets in Cuba, Canada, China and Japan during World War I.<sup>26</sup>

Nevertheless, the city's Greeks remained essentially small, family level entrepreneurs. There were to be virtually no chain store operations, large corporate structures or extensive real estate holdings controlled by local Greeks. Whether they lacked vision or resources or both is arguable. They undoubtedly suffered from disunity and mutual recrimination. Many complained bitterly of being exploited by their own kind, while others loaned their meager funds too freely to compatriots. Their children entered the professions or staffed business firms owned by others. Several pioneers had no heirs; two-thirds of the coffee house owners, for example, were childless. Few widows carried on the family business after their husbands passed away.

Prior to 1903, when the colony's first church was opened for worship, the city's Greeks had to rely upon the Russian Orthodox clergy for their religious needs. A "Graeco-Russian-Slavic" Society was established in 1864, and in 1868, the Society petitioned the Consistory of Alaska to send a priest. A Father Korigin arrived some time afterward, a parish was organized, and in 1871, St. Alexander Nevsky became a cathedral (now known as Holy Trinity Russian Cathedral).<sup>27</sup>

From the evidence available, no independent Greek parish existed in San Francisco before the mid-1890s. Between 1894 or 1895 and 1903, Greek Orthodox worshipers congregated in a hall on Rincon Hill near the present western terminus of the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge.<sup>28</sup> In 1903, several

parishioners, including a remarkable man named Alexander Kosta, called a general meeting to discuss the purchase of a permanent church site. Soon afterward, they had raised \$2,500, largely through Kosta's efforts.<sup>29</sup>

Once the site — a lot on Seventh Street, near Harrison, along the southern boundary of Greek Town — was selected, construction began at once. After the structure was completed, simple furnishings installed, and election of officers held, the necessary articles of incorporation were recorded with the county clerk's office, and the Greek Orthodox Community of the Holy Trinity Church became a reality. It was the eighth Greek Orthodox religious community established in America.<sup>30</sup>

The church edifice was destroyed during the conflagration of 1906, but several items, including the Log Book and baptismal font, were saved. In the interim the Kosta home, located in the Richmond district a few miles northwest of Greek Town, served as a temporary church and boarding house.<sup>31</sup>

Following a broader fund-raising campaign, during which compatriots in several surrounding communities were approached for assistance, work began on a second church building not far from the original site in the fall of 1906. The church was completed the following year, and a Greek-language school was opened in 1912.<sup>32</sup>

For several years Holy Trinity church served as a religious headquarters for the Greek Orthodox faithful of the entire Bay Area. Its priests, all of them energetic and dedicated men, were kept busy administering to the needs of Orthodox Christians as far away as Fresno, Sacramento, and Redding, especially during the major religious celebrations climaxed by Easter services. In one historical sketch of the Sacramento community, there is mention of the appearance of the Reverend Makaronis, Holy Trinity's third priest, during the Holy Week in 1910:

"He rented a warehouse or a hay loft on 12th and K Streets. He cleaned the place and then conducted services. . ." <sup>33</sup>

Another local priest, Archmandrite Kallistos Papageorgopoulos, later was elevated to one of the four episcopates of the American Archdiocese, and in 1927 became the city's first resident Greek Orthodox bishop. <sup>34</sup>

The close relations between the colony's residents and their church were challenged constantly by the problems of growth. The community's expansion was speeded following the return from Greece, at the conclusion of the Balkan Wars, of hundreds of volunteers, many with wives and families. A growing number of parishioners complained that the community's progress did not seem to keep pace with its numerical growth. To make matters worse, a serious political power struggle in Greece between the republican followers of Prime Minister Eleutherios Venizelos and the royalist supporters of King Constantine II had a divisive impact upon the Greek colony that would last for over twenty years.

Dissatisfaction increased. The grumbling became louder, until a "reform" faction managed to force the calling of a general assembly at the Civic Auditorium in 1916. Over 3,000 persons heard a score of speakers decry the situation, several demanding a larger church and a parochial school, after which the majority of those eligible voted to remove the board of trustees. <sup>35</sup>

The church community's squabbling continued until 1921, when a dissident group, overwhelmingly Venizelist, broke away, and after congregating for several years in a building at Hayes and Pierce Streets, purchased and refurbished the Valencia Street theatre building in the upper Market Street sector approximately two miles northwest of the Holy Trinity church. There Saint Sophia's church was opened in 1927. <sup>36</sup>

The Valencia Street community faced financial difficulties from the beginning of its nine-year existence. Church attendance did not increase sufficiently, so that the weight of a heavy mortgage became unbearable following the general economic collapse of the early 1930s. In 1936, when the congregation's debt stood at \$65,000, the church property was sold to a capital company owned by the Bank of Italy for \$22,000. The community later arranged to rent the building for \$100 a month. <sup>37</sup>

With the arrival of Father Basil Lokis, former assistant pastor of Holy Trinity, the Valencia Street community's fortunes improved rapidly. Lokis had attempted to unite the two congregations in order to facilitate the expansion of community activities and establish the Bay Region as worthy of a resident bishop — hopefully, Lokis himself. But the dynamic young priest's proposal was turned down by the Seventh Street congregation during a tumultuous meeting, and the following Sunday Lokis publicly and dramatically announced his resignation. Following a series of legal maneuvers during which Lokis was barred from entering the Holy Trinity church by court order and new parish board elections were ordered held, Lokis was persuaded to join the Saint Sophia community. <sup>38</sup>

Under Father Lokis' leadership the Valencia Street community was reorganized and named the United Greek Community of the Annunciation. The parish council subsequently was able to repurchase the church building for the original auction price, and, with the onset of an economic boom during the war-time forties, the community prospered. <sup>39</sup>

Although the two church communities remained divided, one of their common goals was realized in 1935, when the Greek Orthodox Memorial Park was opened in Colma, a small town south of San Francisco. Following passage of an ordinance by San Francisco's Board of Supervisors prohibiting all



## San Francisco's Greek Colony



*Demetrios Velliseratos in his Cliff House store with his nephew Costa around 1911. The Velliseratos' were among the earliest Greek families to operate several Ocean front cafes and other food outlets in the early 1900s.*

further interments within the city and county limits after August 1, 1901, several cemeteries had been established just beyond the city's southern boundary. In 1924, the fourteen associated cemeteries then in existence proceeded to incorporate the area into the town of Colma.<sup>40</sup>

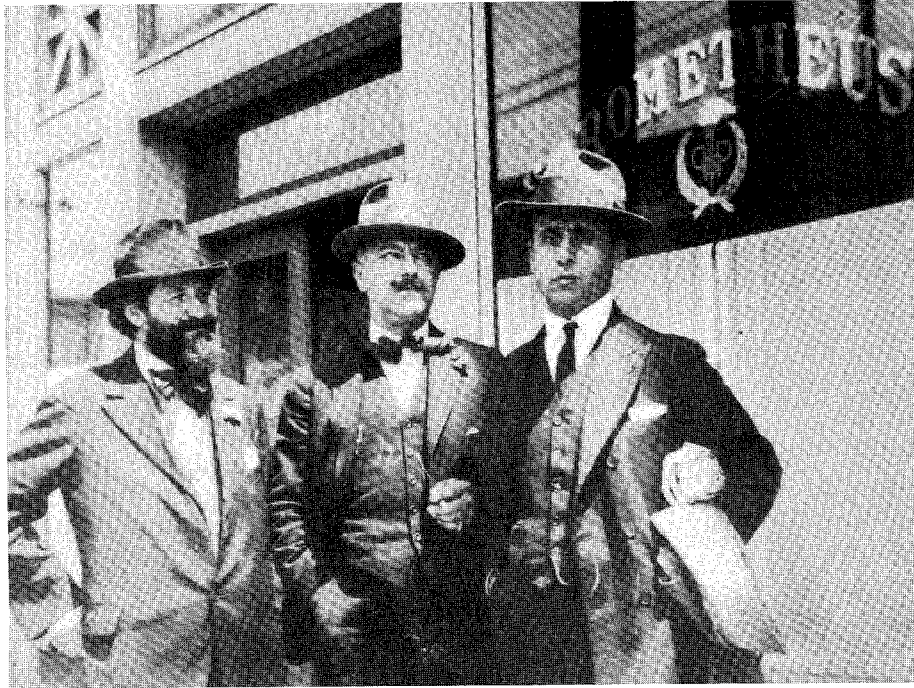
Angelo and Athanasia Pouloupoulos had acquired some acreage on the west side of El Camino Real, the main artery between San Francisco and points south prior to the construction of a major freeway in the 1950s. In order to retain possession of the land, the Pouloupoulos sold shares to a number of compatriots, and deeded the property to the Greek Memorial Park in 1934.

The Pouloupoulos had befriended Nick Doukas, a transplant from Greek Town who operated the only restaurant in the vicinity. Doukas eventually bought out all but two of the original shareholders and

purchased additional acreage in 1955. By 1970 the park's tombstones bore the names of over 3,500 people, a number greater than San Francisco's entire Greek colony in 1910. Some 800 additional Greek immigrants, including Nicholas Antipa, are buried across the roadway in the "Greek plot" at Olivet cemetery.<sup>41</sup>

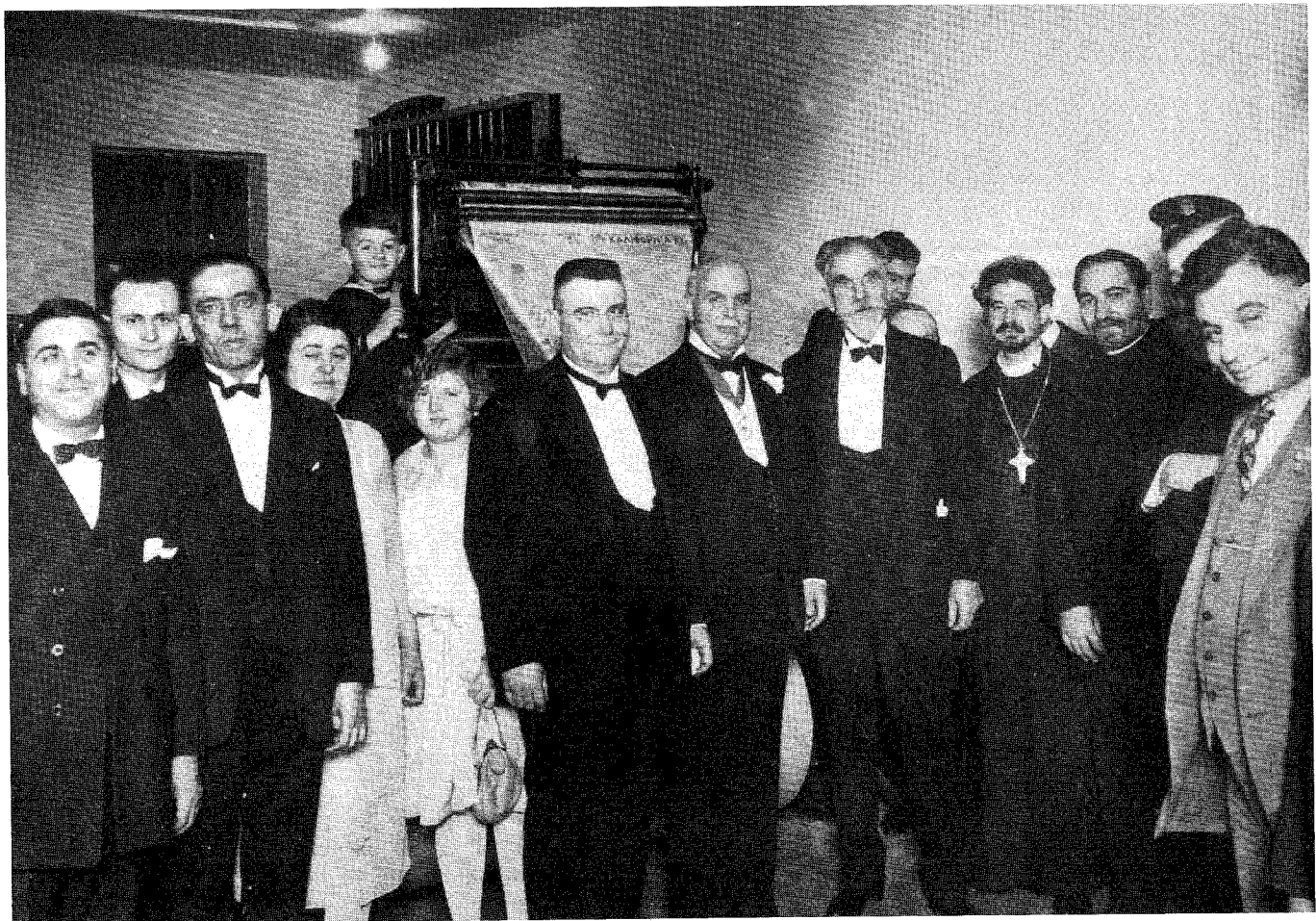
The rapid growth of the San Francisco Bay Region and the presence of an established Russian Orthodox church helped speed the formation of a major religious community in Greek Town whose strengths and weaknesses reflected those of the larger Greek colony. The laypersons and priests involved in its origins and growth were able and energetic individuals who could not overcome the personal attacks that divided the community and alienated many of its members. Because of the factionalism and personal conflicts that developed, the possibilities for self-





*George Pappageorge-Palladius (left) and Alexander K. Pavellas (center) outside the Prometheus newspaper office on Third Street, with an unidentified compatriot. Prometheus may have enjoyed the largest readership in the Greek Colony's history, claiming a circulation of 12,000 in 1925.*

*Angelo T. Mountanos (center forefront) celebrates the opening of the California newspaper's new press in 1927. At his right are various members of the Mountanos family, including his young son Angelo, who began broadcasting a Greek language radio hour in 1948. At Mountanos' left is Mayor James Rolph, Jr. Father Constantine Tsapralis (with crucifix) was the colony's first and most durable regular pastor.*





enhancement on the part of one united community as opposed to two communities going their separate ways will never be known.

**T**he Greek-language press played an important role in the life of the Greek colony. Several Greek-owned newspapers appeared between 1905 and 1945, the first being *O Eiriniikos* (The Pacific). It was founded in 1905 by Michael Antonakopoulos and published in partnership with Alexander K. Pavellas for several months until Pavellas became sole owner.<sup>42</sup>

Pavellas' newspaper operation survived the 1906 fire, and in 1911 he became a naturalized citizen. By then he had married Lucille Harpending, whose twin sister Genevieve was later to marry Pavellas' business partner. After a three-year residence in Greece, the Pavellas returned to San Francisco with their infant son, Constantinos, and Pavellas was appointed Acting Consul General of Greece and commissioner in charge of the Greek exhibit at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition of 1915. The following year he resumed publication of the newspaper, now known as *Prometheus*, with a new partner, George Pappageorge-Palladius. In 1919 their publishing company issued a largely pictorial introduction to Northern California's Greek communities entitled *The Hellenic Colonies in the Western States of North America*.<sup>43</sup>

*Prometheus* may have been the most widely read weekly in the Greek colony's history, claiming a circulation of 12,000 in 1925.<sup>44</sup> At the time it included in its eight-page format entire sections devoted to international, national, regional, and local affairs, as well as a "Los Angeles Edition." Its pages were filled with poems (several of them composed by Lucille and Constantinos), anecdotes, and announcements of

baptisms and weddings, with advertisements ringing the edges.

In 1907 *California*, the only Greek-language newspaper to outlast *Prometheus*, began publication under a three-member management before being taken over by Anastasios T. Mountanos. *California* began as a standard-size, four-page weekly. Like *Prometheus* it included a wide range of news, from local to global, with the usual emphasis on matters pertaining to the *Patrida* (Fatherland).<sup>45</sup>

*California*'s evolution during its first quarter century reveals a great deal concerning San Francisco's Greek colony, the most striking during its early years being the amount and frequency of reported criminal activity, ranging from fraudulent actions of various kinds to assaults and killings. In its descriptions of personal squabbles over partnerships, accusations involving cheating at cards and lying under oath, and reporting of false bankruptcy claims, Mountanos' weekly seemed determined to expose the Greek community's hoodlum element.<sup>46</sup>

As the Greek colony expanded and several new businesses were opened along its central streets, *California*'s news content underwent a noticeable change. Its advertising became more sophisticated, with additional professional listings. Reporting of crimes was minimized while several columns were devoted to family activities. In short, *California* reflected an ethnic community's search for stability and respectability.

Both *Prometheus*' and *California*'s editorials stressed the need for closer coordination of organizational activities, called for the construction of a parochial school and community center, and supported greater community involvement in civic affairs. Both Pavellas, an ardent Venizelist, and Mountanos, who backed the royalist cause, were ardent nationalists. Although they were entirely different personalities, they agreed on one essential: until the Greek colony





*Wedding photo of Vivian Stratis and Costa Vellis taken in 1927. At the right is the coumbaro, or best man, John Velliseras, who became an executive with the Hunt Foods corporation.*

could agree on its major goals and direction, progress would occur haltingly. To some extent their predictions ring true today. San Francisco is still without a Hellenic-American community center where all age groups can spend time profitably in athletics or visits to a library or museum devoted to the preservation of the city's Greek heritage.<sup>47</sup>

For the Greek pioneers of both sexes home, church, and Hellenic tradition were the chief sources of strength, unity and pride. Although the difficulty of pronunciation and the discrimination of the time constrained some immigrants to Anglicize their names, that pride remained. It helped to justify the sacrifices made during the years of painful adjustment and trial.

Although their work days were long and often

financially unrewarding, the many feast days and family celebrations lightened the Greeks' burdensome routine. The Eastern Orthodox faith revolved around the miracle of Christ's suffering, death and resurrection, so that Easter was by far the colony's most important holiday. It was preceded by week-long religious services, and was followed by hours of feasting on roast lamb, wine, and the traditional colored eggs for cracking. A large lot in back of the Cosmopolitan Market on Third Street served as a central gathering place, where hundreds sang and danced the kalamatiano, tsamiko and hasapiko.<sup>48</sup>

The daughters of the colony's immigrants faced a more restrictive existence than their brothers. They were expected to set the best example and help with the housekeeping duties. Vivian Stratis Vellis, whose father was the Holy Trinity church's cantor, lived for several years on Cleveland Street in back of the church. Her weekly routine revolved around household duties, school, and church-related functions, all of which she later recalled warmly.<sup>49</sup> Anna Milonas Loutas benefited from being exposed to her father's beverage business, later applying her practical experience as an officer in various women's organizations.<sup>50</sup> Few women of her generation had such exposure.

Family relationships were often made difficult by arranged marriages, with a great age disparity between the sexes, and the inequality inherent in a rigidly observed male supremacy. Such marriages led many Greek women to dedicate themselves to their children who became their hope for the future. A few better educated women married activists who encouraged them to participate in community affairs. Others were widowed while still young and became involved in church and other activities or simply used such outlets as substitutes for unworkable marriages. The Greek colony's first American-born generation experienced a changing environment and new ambitions followed by great disillusionment during the



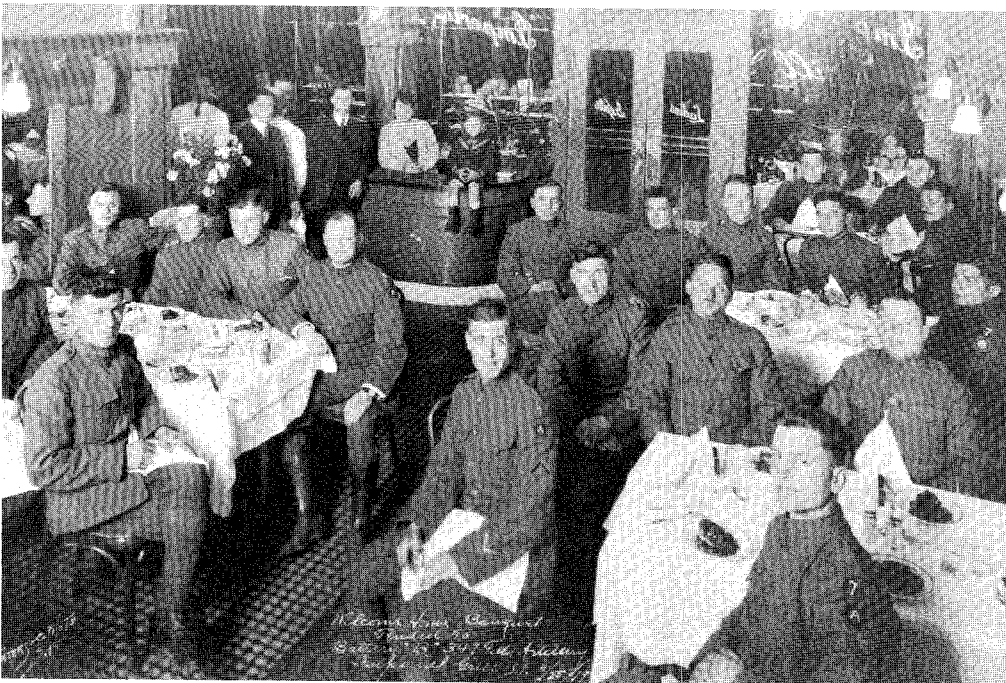
## San Francisco's Greek Colony

Great Depression. During the interwar period (1919-1939) a sizable number of Greeks moved to the Richmond and Sunset districts on the city's western fringe, where new, affordable housing was being constructed. The new neighborhoods, with their middle-class residents and college preparatory high schools, broadened the new arrivals' horizons.<sup>51</sup>

Peter Tamaras' experiences are fairly typical of those who matured between the two world wars. His parents, William and Melba, had saved \$8,500 while operating a tailor shop not far from the flat in which they lived with their three children, and in 1922 the family moved "stavenoos," as the older Greeks called the numbered avenues of the city's western sector. Peter, the oldest of three sons, attended Lowell High School, then entered the University of California at Berkeley in 1929 — barely one month prior to the stock exchange's collapse and the

beginning of the most severe economic crisis in the nation's history. Peter managed to make ends meet while at Berkeley by working at odd jobs and busing in a San Francisco cafe on weekends.

The depression-aggravated anxieties of the 1930s caused a deeply troubled younger generation of Greek Americans to reassess the rising expectations of the previous decade. Young Tamaras, who had majored in international relations, took any job he could find, eventually landing a wrapper's position with a furniture company that paid seventy dollars a month. The call to military service during World War II ended the most trying period in his life, but not his association with the South of Market district. After his discharge from the service in 1946, he opened a janitorial supplies service, and, after trying out two locations, reopened for business on Harrison Street. Close by stood the church, the elementary



*World War I veterans of Battery "B," 347th Field Artillery are feted at a welcome home banquet at the Preovolos brothers' Imperial Grill in April, 1919. Peter Preovolos, his wife Kalliopi, and their son John are at the counter.*

school, and the other familiar landmarks of his youth.<sup>52</sup>

As their numbers grew, the city's Greeks began forming various organizations that were eventually to range from local societies to national fraternal orders. The earliest and most durable mutual aid association was the Hellenic Mutual Benevolent Society, which was established in 1888 and served as a model for later organizations, both locally and in other Greek communities in California. The Society provided sickness and death benefits for its members as well as financial aid for those who wished to be repatriated. Its members contributed often to the destitute of Greece: orphans, earthquake victims, and refugees from Asia Minor during periods of increased Turkish hostility were among the chief recipients. They also displayed a fervent loyalty to the motherland in their support of recruitment drives during the Balkan Wars.<sup>53</sup>

Several additional organizations became active between 1909 and 1912. The Panevoikos Society was the first composed of immigrants from a specific region, in this case the island of Euboea, off the Attic coast. Following a brief interruption in organizational activity due to the departure of hundreds of volunteers to fight the Turk and later the Bulgar (1912-1914), the number of local societies increased rapidly. The Accadians, Samians, Cefallonians and Thessalonians led the way, followed by Cretan, Mesinian, Macedonian and Laconian groups, all of whom sought to preserve their regional identity within the Greek colony.<sup>54</sup>

The first women's club, the Union of Greek Women, was established in 1913, but women's groups did not achieve prominence until the late 1920s, when the Greek Ladies Brotherhood Progress

(Proodos) and the Daughters of Penelope were organized. As founder and presiding officer of the Union, Helen Athanasiades Damianakes (1869-1939) indicated the direction that succeeding women's groups would follow. She supported the idea that women should serve as auxiliaries, helping to raise money for various projects not undertaken by their male counterparts rather than pursuing an entirely independent course. Two of the Union's major fund-raising campaigns were for a tuberculosis sanitarium and for the Greek victims of the Balkan Wars.<sup>55</sup>

The mother lodge of the Daughters of Penelope was formed in San Francisco in 1929 under the leadership of Alexandra Apostolides Sonenfeld, the daughter of a priest. Her first husband, Dr. Emmanuel Apostolides, was a charter member and vice president of AHEPA, a national fraternal organization that was experiencing phenomenal growth. Together they decided to form a Senior Women's Auxiliary, invited several women to their home, and persuaded them to join what was to become the most influential Hellenic-American women's group in America.<sup>56</sup>

The Daughters' purpose was to enhance the spirit of Hellenism within an American framework. Its members supported a gradualist approach to Americanization. Their constitution was printed in both languages; their Order's colors were the blue and white of Greece; their officers were required to read passages from Homer at the conclusion of each meeting.<sup>57</sup>

Some years after the Order was established, Sonenfeld recounted those accomplishments for which she felt the Daughters "are humbly and deeply proud:" the Penelopian Home in Athens, a sort of halfway house for young women from outlying areas in search of work; the Order's financial assistance to various orphanages in both countries; and a generous



scholarship program.<sup>58</sup>

Both the Daughters and Proodos became involved in educational and cultural activities aimed at bridging two lifestyles. Their philosophy and methods reflected an attempt to reach a compromise between Old World tradition and "100 per cent Americanism," with the Daughters favoring the latter.<sup>59</sup>

In time the Greek colony's organizational activity was to include a Hellenic music club, founded in 1909, student groups, athletic clubs and even a workers' society, "Spartacus," which had a brief existence in 1935.

The need for greater coordination of the various organizations' endeavors led to the formation of a central coordinating committee, the United Hellenic American Societies of San Francisco (UHAS) in 1940. Until that year the annual independence day celebration commemorating the date, March 25, 1821, on which the first major uprising against the Ottoman Turks occurred, was undertaken by individual communities or societies. The central committee was made a permanent legal entity in 1946, following a series of highly successful commemorative affairs at the Civic Auditorium.<sup>60</sup>

America's involvement in two world wars had a powerful impact on San Francisco's Greeks. While the first global conflict speeded their Americanization, the second confirmed it, making possible a political success story that might have been unthinkable a short time previously.

An intense nationalism marked by a hyperpatriotism and a growing suspicion of alien cultures grew out of the First World War, compelling many local Greeks to reconsider their citizenship status. Scores of young males obtained their papers through enlistment in the armed services, some of them later forming the first Greek-American Post of the American Legion to be established in the United States.<sup>61</sup>

Probably the first postwar organization to serve as a link between the city's Greeks and the wider community was the Order of Klossa, a secret society formed in 1923 for the purpose of furthering a more positive image before the general public. The Order's leaders stressed proper grooming and a "progressive" attitude on the part of its membership, which was restricted to those who could afford a high initiation fee, possessed full American citizenship, and had good character references. A highlight of Klossa's social calendar was the annual ball held at the Fairmont Hotel which formally attired guests attended by invitation only. Although its members assisted the destitute, Klossa's primary *raison d'être* was the desire to develop a more dignified and sophisticated nucleus within the Greek Colony.<sup>62</sup>

One year after the Order of Klossa came into being, a group of Greek business and professional men gathered in one of the upper rooms of the Civic Auditorium. There they formed the Greek-American League, the first Hellenic-American political organization in the city's history, whose goal was to convince the community at large of its members' loyalty and patriotism and to promote a greater political consciousness on the part of the Greek community by means of banquets, meetings with elected officials, and participation in parades and rallies.

League activity reached a peak in 1925, when it held a banquet at the Fairmont Hotel for an estimated five hundred guests and sponsored a float as part of a mammoth parade in celebration of California's Diamond Jubilee.<sup>63</sup>

The Greek colony's war veterans often proved to be among the most energetic and ambitious of the early activists. Probably the most prominent was George Peterson-Cherakis, an Accadian who came to San Francisco in 1915 and served an apprenticeship in a candy store before enlisting in the California "Grizzlies," as the 144th Artillery Unit was called.

*Spyro Skouras, who became head of Twentieth Century-Fox the following year, appeals for support of the Greek War Relief Fund at a meeting in 1941.*

*Greek Consul General Elias Picheon is flanked by Julia Antipa Petterson and his wife Calypso Picheon following the christening of the S.S. John Constantine in July, 1943.*

He returned to the city after the war and established an insurance brokerage business.

As founder and commander (1921-1924) of the Greek-American Legion, later known as Hellenic Post 230 of the American Legion, Cherakis exerted some influence at both the local and state level, claiming as personal friends such political figures as Mayor James Rolph, Jr.<sup>64</sup>

The best illustration of the Greek colony's shift toward American interests after World War I is the rapid rise of the local AHEPA lodges beginning in the late 1920s. The American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association was founded in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1922. Thoroughly middle-class, business and professions oriented, and extremely patriotic, its members dedicated themselves to "Americanization, assimilation, and adaptation."<sup>65</sup> The social and economic climate of the 1920s encouraged AHEPA's rapid growth from the South and Southwest to the North and West. By the mid-1930s it was the nation's most influential Hellenic-American fraternal order, with branches all across the country.

Between 1926 and 1929 two AHEPA chapters were organized in San Francisco. As first regional Supreme Governor, George C. Peterson (as Cherakis was known then) once again became the principal catalyst, carrying on a recruitment drive that produced twenty-two new chapters in Northern California during his first term.

In 1931 the two lodges hosted the ninth annual national convention. The resultant publicity encouraged additional growth, so that by the mid-1930s they claimed over 1,000 members, making AHEPA the Bay Area's most powerful Hellenic-American organization.<sup>66</sup>

Their experiences with such organizations as the Greek-American League and AHEPA encouraged a nucleus of community activists to seek city-wide office. In 1929 Dr. Peter Angel (Angelopoulos) was



persuaded to run for supervisor. His involvement in virtually every facet of community activity, knowledge of English, and college-level educational background made him an obvious choice. He was a charter member of the Order of Klossa, the Hellenic Post, and the Pacific Coast chapter of AHEPA, as well as a trustee in Saint Sophia's Church.<sup>67</sup>

Running on the slogan "Put an Angel on the Board of Supervisors" and supporting construction





of the War Memorial Building, Dr. Angel managed to place fifteenth in a forty-nine candidate field.<sup>68</sup>

When George Christopher ran for the same office sixteen years later, Peter Angel was his campaign manager. The timing of the Christopher campaign was excellent. The Greek-American community had supported every aspect of the American war effort, and had been vindicated by the Greek army's courageous stand against both Italian and German invaders in 1940-41. Although serious divisions remained, San Francisco's Hellenic community seemed more prosperous, confident and united than at any time in its history.

George Christopher had first entered the political scene in 1934, when he ran as a Democrat for the state assembly seat held by Tom Maloney, a popular veteran incumbent, and was beaten easily.<sup>69</sup> He had left Galileo High School in his freshman year due to the untimely death of his father and gone to work for

the San Francisco *Examiner*, first as a copy boy and then in the accounting department. He received his degree in accounting from Golden Gate College after nine years of evening classes and found work as a bookkeeper for a number of Greek-owned businesses during the depression. In 1939 Christopher bought a Fillmore Street dairy for \$3,000. Six years later, having achieved some economic security after surviving a series of legal and financial battles, he decided to run for local office. Christopher's enormous energy and personal appeal, certain key endorsements, and virtually unanimous Greek voter support enabled him to join two other newcomers on the Board of Supervisors, barely taking the fifth and last contested seat with slightly over 49,000 votes.<sup>70</sup> Four years later he was to be reelected by the largest vote ever accorded a supervisory candidate, receiving more than 179,000 votes.<sup>71</sup> In 1955 he would take office as the first Greek-American mayor of a major American



city. As one Christopher supporter put it, "We Greeks had arrived."<sup>72</sup>

The Second World War provided the psychological and economic foundation for the Greek community's active participation in the city's politics and government. The successful Christopher supervisory campaign of 1945 was a fitting climax to the Greek experience during World War II. The members of San Francisco's Hellenic community contributed invaluable services both to the nation's war effort and to programs aimed at Greece's survival and postwar rehabilitation. The war also speeded their assimilation into American society, and most emerged from the war with a strengthened appreciation of their American and Greek roots.

An important turning point for the city's Greeks was their homeland's courageous stand against both Italian and German invading armies in 1940-1941. The Greek armies' stout resistance was a source of immense pride to Greek-Americans throughout the United States. Up until that time the issue of Greece's questionable loyalties, one that dated back to the republican-royalist power struggle during World War I, had remained unresolved. That shadow had been darkened further by the existence of a fascist-like dictatorship in Athens under General John Metaxas, who had assumed power in 1936. The Greeks' bravery removed that shadow forever. America's Greeks were filled with a sense of satisfaction they had never felt before, and they reacted accordingly.<sup>73</sup>

Immediately following the Italian invasion in October, 1940, the Greek community began a series of fund-raising activities that would eventually involve virtually every group and organization in the colony. Following the lead of its national organization, a local

Greek War Relief Association (GWRA) organized a variety of fund-raisers ranging from door-to-door solicitations to a huge rally at the Civic Auditorium in 1941 featuring motion picture stars from Hollywood.<sup>74</sup>

The German invasion and conquest of Greece in April, 1941, prevented the sending of direct aid, so the GWRA cooperated with the Red Cross, AHEPA, and later the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) in order to ship badly needed supplies to that occupied country. San Francisco's Greek community supported enthusiastically the national AHEPA's war bonds sales campaign, which eventually surpassed the \$500 million mark.<sup>75</sup> Practically every eligible male in the community served in the armed forces, and several lost their lives.<sup>76</sup>

The Germans' withdrawal from Greece in 1944 allowed the city's Greeks to engage in direct relief activities once again. Throughout a savage civil war (1944-1949) that further drained the Greek people's resources, they sent hundreds of bundles and packages of clothing and non-perishable food items to the UNRRA for use in the poverty-stricken country and participated in several campaigns, including aid to war orphans and construction of hospitals and health centers.<sup>77</sup>

The Truman administration's decision to send direct aid to the ruling anti-communist faction in Athens in 1947 marked the close of a seven-year era of close involvement by San Francisco's Greeks in both America's war effort and Greece's survival. Their Americanism no longer questioned, they had assisted brilliantly their homeland in its most critical hour.

San Francisco's Greek Town had a relatively brief existence. Its residents began moving into outlying neighborhoods even before the 1920s. It lacked the amenities of a North Beach or a Cow Hollow that

might have fostered more permanent settlement, so that the children of those young agrarians who chose to make their future in the city grew up in middle-class neighborhoods far removed from Third Street.

This early dispersion was accelerated by the unsatisfactory situation that existed within their church community and their local societies. Too often personalism and parochialism seemed to come before genuine issues and community needs. As a result, where there might have been a greater sense of cohesiveness, there was withdrawal. Greek Town's poor location within an increasingly industrialized and commercialized sector of the city speeded a dispersal that would have occurred anyway.

Cultural Hellenism did not pervade the city's Hellenic colony as it did those in the East. The intense flag-waving and memorializing that took place with regularity in New York and Chicago were not duplicated in San Francisco. Obviously, distance was a major factor in this contrast. The Bay Area's Greek population has never had the easy access and close proximity to the archdiocesan nerve center or the large-scale Greek-American economic power that emerged along the Atlantic seaboard. In the urban East, far larger Greek Towns emerged, better able to preserve native traditions through sheer numbers and greater availability of "new blood," with greater concentrations of population and businesses.

The San Francisco Greek colony's direction was influenced in several ways. It became the earliest and largest established Greek community west of Chicago. Yet its members, forced to compete with several other concentrated ethnic groups, entered a highly competitive marketplace where ethnicity and tradition had a weaker hold, and where individualism and experimentation were encouraged.

Thus, despite its life span of some thirty-five years, San Francisco's Greek community lacked the organizational depth and business and political leadership of

many eastern cities. Diffusion in both the marriage and housing pattern, together with the ongoing internal dissension that divided the church and the various secular organizations, prevented the kind of harmonious relationships which hold a community together for an extended period.

Like the city itself, the Greek community's future since 1945 has been linked increasingly to the growth of new church communities and organizations in other parts of a fast-growing Bay Region. In more than one instance the children of those pioneers who worshiped in Greek Town have been a major force in their own church community's development. This could very well be Greek Town's most important and enduring legacy.

Photographs are courtesy of the following: pages 115 and 128, Amanda Kockos Antipa; page 116, Marie Vavuris Petros; page 117, Fr. Anthony Kosturos; page 118, Marie Damianakes Stratikis; page 121, the author; page 122 top, Conrad Pavellas, bottom, Antelo T. Mountanos; page 124, Vivian Vellis; page 125, John Preovolos; and page 129, Peter Boudoures.

### Notes

1. With the exception of one master's thesis completed in 1951 and a lengthy article by a local scholar, there is no historical account in English of the Greeks in the San Francisco Bay Area. Confer Demitra Georgas, "Greek Settlement of the San Francisco Bay Area" (unpublished master's thesis, University of California at Berkeley, 1951), and Nicholas J. Rozakos, "Greeks in San Francisco," *Athene*, XXI: 4 (Winter, 1961), 3-16. Mr. Rozakos has also contributed several articles in Greek dealing with specific individuals and organizations within the city's Greek colony.
2. John Boyd Thatcher, *Christopher Columbus* (New York: G. P.

- Putnam's Sons (1903-1904), II, p. 331.
3. Hoffman Birney, *Brothers of Doom: The Story of the Pizarros of Peru* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1942), pp. 84, 87-88, 93, 244-245.
  4. George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, *Don Juan De Oñate Colonizer of New Mexico 1595-1628* (University of New Mexico, 1953), pp. 158, 263, 293.
  5. For a definitive account of Fuca's activities see Warren L. Cook, *Flood Tide of Empire: Spain and the Pacific Northwest, 1543-1819* (New Haven: Yale University, 1973), pp. 21-28.
  6. Hector Chevigny, *Russian America: The Great Alaskan Venture, 1741-1867* (New York: Viking, 1965), pp. 77, 81, 83.
  7. Alan P. Bowman (comp.), *Index to the 1850 Census of California* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1972); Warren Thompson, *Growth and Changes in California's Population* (Los Angeles: Haynes Foundation, 1955), p. 70.
  8. Most of the camel drivers from Constantinople were Greeks. See Harlan D. Fowler, *Camels to California* (Stanford 1950), pp. 35, 50, 79; Benjamin C. Truman, *Life, Adventures and Capture of Tiburcio Vasquez* (Los Angeles Star, 1874), pp. 6, 9-10. George became a naturalized citizen in 1867, assuming the name of George Allen. He died at the old Mission Vieja, near Montebello, in 1913, and is buried at Whittier, California.
  9. *San Francisco Bulletin*, January 12, 1875; Edward A. Ackerman, *New England's Fishing Industry* (University of Chicago, 1941), p. 291.
  10. George Brown Goode, *The Fisheries and Fishery Industries of the United States* (Washington, D.C. 1887), p. 615.
  11. *Great Register*, 1876-1882; *Crocker-Langley San Francisco Directory*, 1885-1917; Holy Trinity church, *Log Book*, 1903-1921.
  12. U.S. *Census of Population*, 1910; 61st Cong., 3rd sess., Sen. Doc. 747: *Abstracts of Reports of the Immigration Commission*, II (Washington, 1911); Thompson, *Growth and Changes*, p. 70.
  13. Statement by George Hontalas, personal interview, August 10, 1973.
  14. Harry Kockos, "Autobiographical sketch," (typescript, n. d. (1972?), 11-12; conversation with George Tsougarakis, July 29, 1979.
  15. Helen Zeese Papanikolas, "Toil and Rage in a New Land: The Greek Immigrants in Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 8:2 (Spring, 1970), 121-133, 135.
  16. California Promotion Committee, *Map of Part of San Francisco*, dated April 18, 1908 (Bancroft Library Collection); Department of City Planning, Staff Report to the San Francisco Redevelopment Agency, "Recommendation for Designation of a South of Market Redevelopment Area," September 24, 1952; *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 19, 1958.
  17. 61st Cong., 3rd sess., Sen Doc. 756, 298.
  18. Rozakos, "Greeks in San Francisco," 4-5.
  19. Alvin Averbach, "San Francisco's South of Market District, 1858-1958: The Emergence of a Skid Row," *California Historical Quarterly*, 52:3 (Fall, 1973), 196-223.
  20. Alvin Averbach, "A Short History of South of Market Before the Advent of the San Francisco Redevelopment Agency" (draft of unpublished paper dated January 11, 1972, San Francisco, California), pp. 14-15. An examination of the San Francisco water department's records, which were preserved during the 1906 fire, reveals that Greek residents were moving away from the South Market area in large numbers by 1920.
  21. John S. Hittell, *The Commerce and Industries of the Pacific Coast of North America* (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft and Company, 1882), p. 525; *San Francisco, An Illustrated Review*, 1887, p. 122; *Master Hands in the Affairs of the Pacific Coast* (San Francisco: Western Historical and Publishing Company, 1892), pp. 251-252.
  22. Georgas, "Greek Settlement," p. 28; *Crocker-Langley Directory*, 1905-1917.
  23. See Theodore Saloutos, *The Greeks in the United States* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1964), Chapter 13, for an illuminating discussion concerning Greeks in the business world.
  24. Associated Greek Press of America, *Greek Business Guide and Directory of the Western States* (San Francisco: 1927), pp. 38-80; Robert H. Willson, "San Francisco's Foreign Colonies," *San Francisco Examiner*, December 9, 1923.
  25. Greek Town pioneer Gus Chiveris has summarized such business operations in *The Hellenic Journal*, July 26, 1979.
  26. Kockos, "Autobiographical sketch," p. 21; *California*, March 5, 1921.
  27. *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 6, 1889; Alexander Doumouras, "Greek Orthodox Communities in America Before World War I," *St. Vladimir's Seminary Quarterly*, VII: 4 (1967), 180. The author is indebted to Mr. Paul Manolis for his invaluable assistance with this segment.
  28. *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 8, 1894; Doumouras, "Greek Orthodox Communities," p. 177.
  29. Kosta, "Incidents," pp. 47-48.
  30. "The First By-Laws of the Greek Orthodox Community of San Francisco, California, April 3, 1904.," *Greek Orthodox Year Book* 1957, p. 20.
  31. Kosta, "Incidents," p. 52.
  32. Georgas, "Greek Settlement of the SFBA," p. 26; Rev. John Petropoulos, *Annual Report of Holy Trinity Church*, 1945 (typescript, n. p.).
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34. Prometheus Publishing Company, *Ai Ellinikai Parikai ton Ditikon Politeion tis Boreiou Amerikis* (The Hellenic Colonies of the Western States of North America), (San Francisco, 1918-1919). p. 24; Rozakos, "Greeks in San Francisco," 7.
35. Prometheus, *Hellenic Colonies*, 23.
36. St. Sophia's Cathedral, *Minutes*, May 19-20, 1921; Georgas, "Greek Settlement," p. 27.
37. Georgas, "Greek Settlement," p. 27; Saint Sophia's Church, *Minutes*, February 8, 1923 and May 7, 1935; *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 18, 1935.
38. *San Francisco Examiner*, August 8, September 7, and October 11, 1936; Boudoures, "Autobiography," p. 94. Unfortunately there is no biography of Father Lokis available.
39. Georgas, "Greek Settlement," p. 27.
40. M. Jensen, "An Outline of the History of the Cemeteries in Lawndale now Colma, Inc." (typescript, June 1, 1952), pp. 4-5.
41. Statement by Nick and Steve Doukas, personal interview, December 6, 1973.
42. Federal Writers' Project, *Foreign Newspapers of San Francisco* (San Francisco: 1939), p. 79.
43. See note 34.
44. Federal Writers Project, *Foreign Newspapers*, p. 79.
45. *Ibid*, p. 80; Rozakos, "Greeks in San Francisco," 11; Bambi Malafouris, *Ellines tis Americkis* (Greeks of America) (New York: M. Malafouris, 1947), p. 230.
46. See, for example, *California*, January 27 and April 5, 1912. It should be noted that sensationalism has long been a useful method of increasing circulation.
47. For important editorial statements see, for example, *Prometheus*, June 25, 1906; *California*, March 5 and October 15, 1921.
48. George Dorsey, *Christopher of San Francisco* (New York: Macmillan, 1962), p. 23; statements by George Christopher, George Maheras, and Peter Tamaras, personal interviews.
49. Statement by Vivian Stratis Vellis, personal interview, August 8, 1979.
50. Statement by Anna Milonas Loutas, personal interview, July 16, 1970; Saloutos, *Greeks in the United States*, pp. 314-317.
51. The author examined the 1972 San Francisco Directory's list of surnames beginning with the letters "Ka." Of the sixty-four names obviously of Greek origin, twenty-three had addresses in the Richmond or Sunset district. Of seventy-six respondents to a community questionnaire, over ninety per cent had moved from South of Market to one of those two districts.
52. Statement by Peter Tamaras, personal interview, July 2, 1970.
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54. The HMBS' Album, "40th Anniversary and Annual Entertainment and Dance" (1928), contains brief histories and biographical sketches relating to the various societies' origins. From the collection of Nicholas Rozakos; *California*, May 3, 1918.
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56. Alexandra Apostolides Sonenfeld to the author, August 15, 1973.
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61. *Hellenic Journal*, July 28, 1977.
62. Statements by James George and Peter George, July 16, 1971; *Hellenic Journal*, July 28, 1977.
63. Boudoures, "Autobiography," 43, 51; *California*, August 8 and 15, 1925; September 19, 1925.
64. "George Peterson Cherakis" (typescript, n. d.), 4 pp.; *Nea California*, May 14, 1964. The information for Cherakis and the Hellenic Post is based largely on the Hellenic Post file, courtesy of Mr. Frank Agnost.
65. Saloutos, *Greeks in the United States*, pp. 246-256; Malafouris, *Greeks of America*, pp. 205-216.
66. Statement by Salvatore Stella, personal interview, August 23, 1973; Order of AHEPA, "Official Program, Ninth Annual National Convention" (August 24-31, 1931), 67.
67. Statement by Peter T. Angel, personal interview, August 10, 1973.
68. *San Francisco Examiner*, November 5, 1929.
69. *San Francisco Examiner*, November 7, 1934.
70. *San Francisco Examiner*, November 7, 1945; Dorsey, *Christopher*, pp. 7-68; statement by George Christopher, personal interview, August 27, 1970.
71. *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 9, 1949.
72. Statement by George Hontalas, personal interview, August 10, 1973.
73. *San Francisco News*, November 22, 1940.
74. Boudoures, "Autobiography," p. 119; Saloutos, *Greeks in the United States*, pp. 344-345.
75. Charles C. Moskos, Jr., *Greek Americans* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1980), p. 50.
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# GOLD RUSH JAIL

## THE PRISON SHIP *EUPHEMIA*



*A drawing of the Euphemia and Apollo done some four years  
after the Euphemia served as San Francisco's prison ship.*



The discovery of gold in California during the early days of 1848 provoked, in the quest for fast and easy fortune, a mass migration to California that has been termed "the greatest mass movement of humanity since the Crusades." In California, towns and villages were literally abandoned as all able-bodied males headed for the gold laden foothills of the Sierra Nevada. San Francisco was among the first settlements in California to be stricken with gold fever. The town paper, the *San Francisco Californian*, lamented: "The whole country . . . resounds with the sordid cry of gold, Gold, GOLD! while the field is left half planted, the house half built, and everything neglected but the manufacture of shovels and pickaxes."<sup>1</sup>

The "sordid cry" of gold was soon heard outside of California. News of the gold discovery spread through the United States, and from there to the rest of the world. By early 1849, hundreds of vessels cleared from various ports, their destination California. California was soon host to thousands of eager gold seekers from all parts of the globe. San Francisco, being located at the entrance to the great San Francisco Bay, found itself to be the gateway to the gold fields. The effect upon the former hide droguers outpost was instant; from a tiny settlement half hidden by sand dunes, it became ". . . a Venice built of pine instead of marble . . . a city of ships, piers, and tides."<sup>2</sup>

The streets of San Francisco were crowded with thousands of argonauts. Mingling with them, and attempting to remain anonymous in the chaotic conditions of the excited Gold Rush days, were various criminals. The "rough and ready" life, the lack of government or of a powerful enforcement of law, and the intoxicating influence of gold proved to be inducements to criminal activity. San Francisco was daily the scene of murder, rape, robbery, assault, mayhem and arson. Surprisingly, much of this was

ignored by the general population, many of whom were transient. This may explain the lack of decision when dealing with San Francisco's criminals. However, as San Francisco became a more settled and established town, the reaction of the populace to criminal activity became increasingly hostile. The final outrage to many was the assault by an organized group known as the "Hounds" against the San Francisco Chilean community on July 15, 1849. In the aftermath of this bloody event, San Francisco organized to drive out the Hounds and press for an effective police force and a stronger jail.

San Francisco's first jail was an outdated and flimsy log structure built around 1846 at Clay and Stockton streets. Early San Francisco resident John Henry Brown recalled, in later days, just how flimsy the jail, or "calaboose," was:<sup>3</sup>

One night a man, by the name of Pete, from Oregon, was put in the "Calaboose," for having cut the hair off the tails of five horses and shaved the stumps. When asked what he did it for, he said he wanted to send him (sic) to England, to be made into a brush, to brush the flies off the Queen's dinner table. As Leavensworth (the Alcalde) did not send him his breakfast, he called on Leavensworth at his office, with the door of the Calaboose on his back, and told him if his breakfast was not sent up in half an hour he would take French leave. Leavensworth sent his breakfast . . .

The Town Council of San Francisco realized how insecure their jail was, and following the "Hounds" incident they began to search for a new jail. A special committee was appointed to either purchase or lease a new building for the jail. A particular dilemma faced the committee; the inflated gold prices of San

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*San Francisco in 1850. This drawing was rendered by an otherwise unknown artist named Prendergast sometime around November of 1850. It shows how the rapidly growing city is encroaching upon the waterfront. Two storeships, one of them the Apollo, can be seen to the left. This drawing gives the city an almost peaceful air, however, it was a raucous, hard drinking frontier town. In the midst of this, the Euphemia served as a dismal floating jail.*

Francisco had driven up the costs of building, hence rents were also high. A possible solution, and a thrifty one, was the use of an abandoned ship for a building. Gold fever had also stricken the crews of the vessels that had brought the argonauts to California, and hundreds of ships lay empty along the waterfront. The solution for the special committee's dilemma was at hand; they purchased a ship for use as San Francisco's new jail.

Prison ships were not a new idea in penal practice. "Hulks," as they were commonly known, had been extensively used in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, notably in Great Britain. However, by the time of the California Gold Rush, prison ships were no longer in use. San Francisco revived the practice. Ships converted into buildings played an important role in Gold Rush San Francisco. In addition to the prison ship, there was a ship converted into a church, and other vessels, such as the famous *Niantic* and *Apollo*, had been converted into warehouses, hotels, and offices.

At the October 8, 1849 meeting of the Town Council of San Francisco, the special committee reported "the purchase of the brig *Euphemia* for the purpose of a prison ship, and, on motion, the report of the committee was adopted and the purchase approved."<sup>4</sup> The former owner of the *Euphemia*, incidently, was Town Council member William Heath Davis. The purchase price: three thousand, five hundred dollars.<sup>5</sup>

At the same meeting, the Town Council appointed their fellow members Sam Brannan, William Heath Davis and Gabriel Post a special committee "to wait upon the Directors of the Central Wharf Association and obtain, if possible, permission from them to lay the brig *Euphemia* alongside their wharf, to superintend the necessary alterations and place her when completed in the hands of the Captain of Police . . ."<sup>6</sup> William Heath Davis, incidently, was

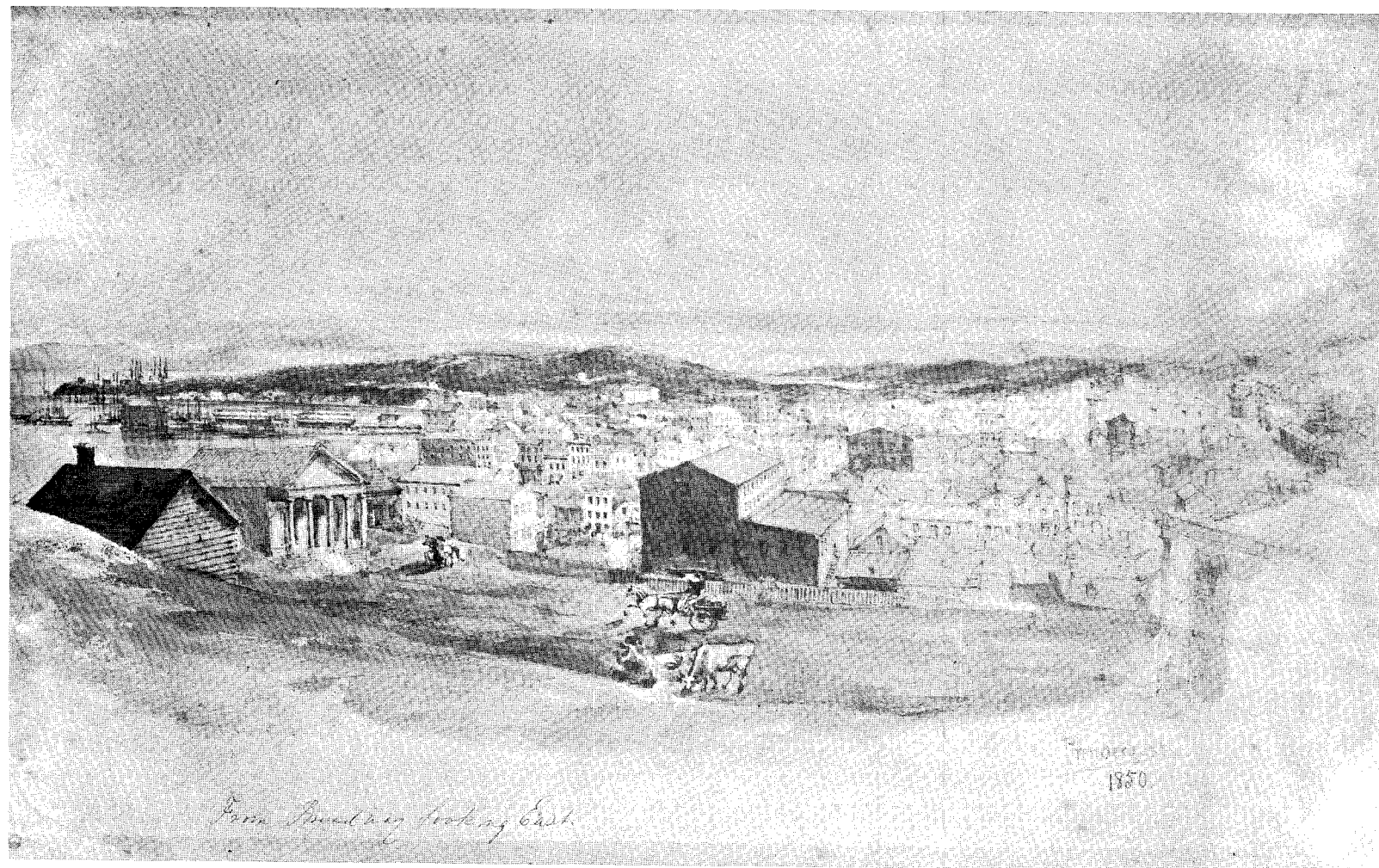
also a member of the Board of Directors of the Central Wharf Association.

The Town Council also ordered that the committee "procure fifty sets of balls and chains for the purpose of securing prisoners . . ."<sup>7</sup> Satisfied with the actions they had taken, the Town Council acted no further on the *Euphemia* until their meeting of November 3, 1849, when "Mr. Davis presented a communication from the Directors of the Central Wharf Association, granting permission to the Council to lay the prison ship alongside the wharf for the space of three months."<sup>8</sup> The three month lease period was later extended; the *Euphemia* was located at what is now Battery and Sacramento streets, near the Central Wharf, until 1851.

Once the *Euphemia* was berthed next to the Central Wharf, work was begun to convert her into a prison ship. Most probably the area below the decks was converted into a cell block, while the after cabin above deck must have served as the guardhouse. On December 10, 1849, at the Town Council meeting, Messrs. Brannan, Davis and Post reported the satisfactory conversion of the ship into a prison. The work had required some \$1,033.75 worth of lumber.<sup>9</sup> The balls and chains arrived in late January of 1850 at the cost of \$523.80.<sup>10</sup> Not counting labor costs, the new jail had cost San Francisco \$5,357.55, not a bad price considering "a simple one-story house of clapboard and shingles cost approximately \$15,000 to build" at that time.<sup>11</sup>

At her berth on Central Wharf, the *Euphemia* was in the heart of the rapidly expanding city. New construction constantly pushed the city limits out into San Francisco Bay, finally overrunning the *Euphemia* and her "storeship" neighbors the *Niantic* and the *Apollo*. With the nearby streets and buildings raised on piles above the shallow waters of the bay, and hemmed in by the construction around her, the *Euphemia* lay quietly in the stagnant waters of the San





Francisco waterfront, never to go to sea again. It was the end of a long career that had probably begun sometime around 1800 in the British Isles. Built as a brig, or a small two masted vessel, the *Euphemia* was about ninety feet long and was registered at 137 tons.<sup>12</sup> As to her place of origin, it is unknown.

There are several *Euphemias* listed in Lloyd's Register of Shipping at that time. The name *Euphemia* derives from a Greek word denoting a person of whom others speak well, that is to say, a person of good repute. The name was quite common in the British Isles beginning around 1200 A.D. It became scarce in later years, and by 1700 was confined to Scotland alone.<sup>13</sup> That may be a clue as to *Euphemia's* origins.

One source states that the *Euphemia* was captured during the War of 1812 by the United States and was kept after the war as a war-prize.<sup>14</sup> According to her later owner, William Heath Davis, she was afterwards employed in the China Trade by the firm of

Henry Skinner and Company.<sup>15</sup> Finally, she arrived in Hawaii, where Davis bought her. Davis' memoirs record that he and his partners purchased the *Euphemia* for "between \$50,000 and \$60,000, my share being \$17,000 or \$18,000" in early 1846.<sup>16</sup> On February 26, 1846, the *Euphemia*, with Thomas Rus-som as Master and William Heath Davis as Super-cargo, cleared Honolulu harbor for California. Davis planned to use the ship as a trade vessel between California and Hawaii. Her typical cargo to California, according to Davis, was "tea, coffee, sugar, clothing, boots and shoes, assorted liquors, foreign wines of the best quality, ale and porter, flour and other articles . . ."<sup>17</sup>

Unfortunately for Davis, the *Euphemia* was to prove to be a headache. Disputes with his partners finally forced him to buy them out. The ship, despite a healthy trade, was much too small for Davis' anticipated business. According to one biographer, "the





more he employed this ship, the more Davis came to consider her an inefficient and basically unsound craft."<sup>18</sup> Just before the discovery of gold, the *Euphemia*, enroute to Peru on a trading voyage, "struck a rocky crag near Monterey . . ." The damaged ship luckily made it to Monterey, where the crew deserted, vowing to never sail on the ship again. Davis hastened to Monterey, where, "by dint of considerable effort and after the use of quantities of rosin, tarpitch, and oakum, Davis readied the *Euphemia* for her return to San Francisco where she was careened, recaulked, and her bottom recoppered . . ."<sup>19</sup>

Davis continued to use the ship until late 1849, well after the Gold Rush had begun. That year, the ship made three voyages; the first was to Mazatlan, Mexico to buy trade goods to sell at a large profit in gold mad San Francisco. Her last two voyages were to Bodega, possibly to pick up lumber, which also sold at a great profit in San Francisco. After her last voyage, the *Euphemia* arrived in San Francisco on August 17, 1849.<sup>20</sup> She was destined to never leave again; that October she was purchased by the town

council, for Davis an undoubtedly fortuitous event.

By February 1, 1850, the *Euphemia* was receiving prisoners. In addition to any criminals apprehended, the new prison ship also held any "suspicious, insane, or forlorn persons found strolling about the city at night."<sup>21</sup> The *Euphemia* thus became California's first formal insane asylum. That first year twelve persons adjudged to be insane were locked in her hold.<sup>22</sup> In later years the San Francisco *Alta California* recalled that the *Euphemia* had been "housed over and furnished quarters to many of the poor unfortunates . . ."<sup>23</sup>

The prisoners on board the *Euphemia* earned their keep by toiling at public works while on a chain-gang. During the day they would labor on shore, to return at night to the ship. Conditions on board were undoubtedly less than desirable. While there is no account of life on board the *Euphemia*, a comparison may be fairly drawn from a description of life on board the *Waban*, a prison ship used by the State of California on San Francisco Bay in 1853:<sup>24</sup>

At night they were locked below, four or five men to each eight foot square compartment. During the warm summer



*This photograph shows the site of the discovery of a small buried ship at the Northwest corner of Sacramento street at Battery. The vessel is lying with her bows pointing toward Sacramento, or parallel to Battery. It is most probably the Euphemia, which is recorded to have been discovered in 1921 at the aforementioned corner. The vessel found here cannot have been the Apollo, which is known to have lain parallel with Sacramento street. In 1925, a vessel lying next to the ship shown here was discovered parallel to Sacramento street and was identified as the Apollo.*

days they stewed in their own juices, while in the rainy winter they stayed below day after dreary day. In the mornings the effluvia of feces and sweat and general decay was so strong that the guards refused to go below until the lower decks had been aired out . . .

Meals were served to the prisoners by a private citizen paid by the city, as the following receipt shows:

Recd San Francisco June 25, 1850  
from Chas. G. Scott City Treasurer  
Bond (No. 4) Sixty 40/100 Dollars in full  
for bill of meals of prison brig April 26/50  
\$60.40 (signed) Jacob Colvin

In addition to meals, the city contracted out to private citizens for firewood, supplies, and medical assistance:

Recd San Francisco Sept. 6, 1850  
bill \$45.50/100 in payment of Dr.  
Jno. O Briens (sic) bill of medical attendance  
on board the prison brig. (314)  
(signed) John O Brien

Conditions on board the *Euphemia* worsened throughout 1850 as more prisoners were locked in her hold. As early as August 4, 1850, the *Alta California* noted that:

Our attention has been recently called to the condition of prison discipline in this city. The "brig" and the stationhouses are literally filled with prisoners, and we recently heard one of our city functionaries express the opinion that if any more were incarcerated these places would rival the famous black-hole of Calcutta. As it is, six or eight men are crowded into a single cell, scarcely large enough for one man's accommodation. It has been recommended that another brig be purchased to relieve the crowded state of our prison houses. An expenditure of a thousand or two thousand dollars would probably accomplish the desired end, and it is hoped that the city council will take the matter in hand immediately.

The City of San Francisco eventually began contruc-

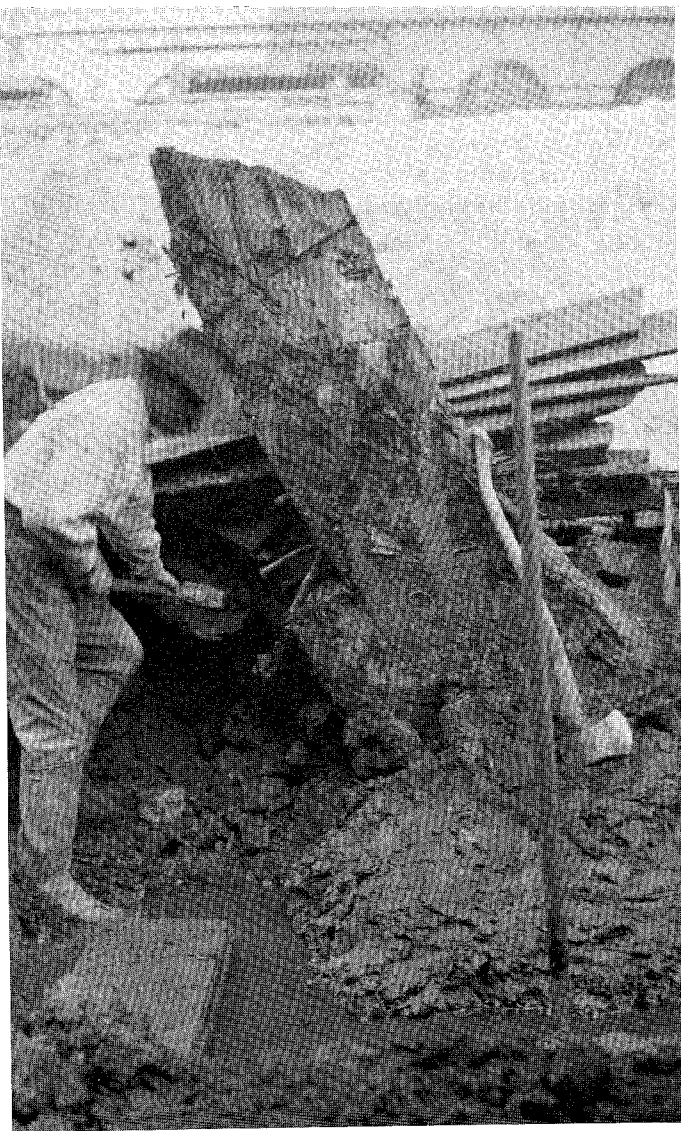
tion of a larger prison, which was completed in mid-1851.

The eventual fate of the *Euphemia* is unknown. Local legend insists that she was seized by a creditor of the city in payment of a debt. There is no record, however, to substantiate this claim. Most probably, as the city grew, and the location at which she was anchored became thoroughly boxed in by streets and buildings, the *Euphemia* was scuttled where she lay in order to make way for land fill and a building on the site. Some sources claim that she was towed away and used by State of California as a prison on the bay, but that vessel is known to be the *Waban*, another ship.<sup>25</sup>

Most probably, the *Euphemia* was stripped of her upper works and all usable fittings by one of San Francisco's many marine salvage firms of Gold Rush days. Then her bare bones would have been allowed to slowly settle into the shallow water and mud, to be covered with debris and sand as the city filled over the old waterfront. The remains of the *Euphemia* then lay forgotten and buried as San Francisco grew and expanded through the years. Several buildings marked the site of the old ship, the last being razed in 1920 to make way for the construction of the new headquarters building of the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco.

The January 15, 1921, edition of the *San Francisco Chronicle* announced the re-discovery of the *Euphemia* with the headline "EXCAVATION BARES CITY'S EARLY-DAY PRISON SHIP: HISTORIC BRIG UNCOVERED AT DOWNTOWN CORNER." The newspaper reported:

Under the mud and silt dug out by steamshovels at the corner of Battery and Sacramento streets, the remains of San Francisco's first jail are being brought to light . . . the *Euphemia* was buried under the creeping silt until the excavation . . . disclosed her lying some thirty feet below street level . . . the hulk of the *Euphemia* lies upright in the



*The stem of the uncovered ship. Note that it exhibits no sign of being burnt or charred, yet the Apollo was burned in the May 4, 1851 fire. It would appear that this vessel had been scuttled at the location prior to the fire of May 4, 1851. After that time this area was built over and was no longer used for shipping. The evidence points to this vessel being the prison ship Euphemia.*

mud, her bows pointing west. From the size of the stem, some three or four feet of which remain intact, and the slope of her sides it is evident that she must have been eighty or ninety feet in length. The timbers are much rotted, although the stem is in fair preservation.

In later years, former San Francisco *Chronicle* reporter William Martin Camp recalled the discovery of the ship:<sup>26</sup>

... the new bank building needed an especially deep foundation, and the steam shovel had worked its way to a considerable depth when it struck a snag. Workmen tried every means of removing the obstacle before they discovered they were digging into the stem piece of a ship. They went to work with pick and shovel and finally uncovered the entire keel and a considerable part of the planking and flooring of the ship. When the timber was sawed up it was found to be as sweet and hard as the day it entered the water.

This story came from Walter MacArthur, a Glasgow

sailor who for many years was the United States Shipping Commissioner of San Francisco. Captain MacArthur, an authority on ships, examined the hull and identified it as the remains of the brig *Euphemia*, built in England, a pioneer vessel which ended her days as a prison ship anchored in the cove. The discovery sent a thrill through the scores of idle watchers who stood around the protective railing surrounding the excavation, and up to the day he died old MacArthur liked to tell this story of the ghost ship which had risen.

Despite MacArthur's identification of the remains, some have thought that the ship uncovered was the storeship *Apollo*, which had been located to the west of the *Euphemia*. However, in 1925, work at the northwest corner of Battery and Sacramento streets, in the rear of the new Federal Reserve Bank, discovered the stern of the *Apollo*. Only about eight feet of the *Apollo* was uncovered in that excavation, and no more.<sup>27</sup>



The discovery of the *Euphemia* and of her neighbor, the *Apollo*, thrilled San Francisco much in the same way the discovery of the old *Niantic* in April of 1978 captivated the imagination of the city. Though some of the timber must have been removed in the Federal Reserve Bank construction, parts if not most of the frame of the *Euphemia* must still exist beneath the basement floor of the Federal Reserve Bank. Future construction on the site will undoubtedly uncover her grave once again. When that happens, San Francisco will once again be privileged with a rare view of the Gold Rush days, as well as a poignant reminder of the human suffering endured on the ship, for the ghosts of her prisoners are chained to the bones of the *Euphemia*, if not in fact, then in memory.

The drawing of the *Euphemia* on page 134 is courtesy of the National Maritime Museum, San Francisco. The view of San Francisco in 1850 was supplied by the Society of California Pioneers. Other photos are from the CHS Library.

## Notes

1. San Francisco *Californian*, May 29, 1848. As quoted in Rodman W. Paul; *California Gold*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965), p. 19.
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3. John Henry Brown; *Early Days of San Francisco*. (Oakland: Biobooks, 1949), p. 35.
4. "Minutes of the Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of San Francisco . . . And A Record of the Proceedings of the Ayuntamiento or Town Council of San Francisco, from August 6, 1849 until May 3rd, 1850 . . ." (San Francisco: Towne and Bacon, 1860), p. 70.
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6. "Minutes of the Proceedings . . . of the Ayuntamiento or Town Council . . ." p. 71.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 71.
8. "Proceedings of the Town Council of San Francisco, Upper California." (San Francisco: Alta California Press, 1849), p. 21.
9. "Financial Record Book" Receipt dated January 22, 1850.
10. "Minutes of the Proceedings . . . of the Ayuntamiento or Town Council . . ." p. 71.
11. Harold Kirker; *California's Architectural Frontier: Style and Tradition in the Nineteenth Century*. (Santa Barbara: Peregrine Smith, Inc., 1973), p. 31.
12. According to the records of the Harbor Master of San Francisco as copied in "List of Vessels Arriving in the Port of San Francisco in 1849-1850." Manuscript on file in the Library of the Society of California Pioneers, San Francisco.
13. R. G. Withycombe; *The Oxford Dictionary of English Christian Names*. 2nd Edition. (London: The Oxford University Press, 1950), p. 105.
14. Stuart A. Brody, Ph.D.; "Hospitalization of the Mentally Ill During California's Early Years: 1849-1853." *The Psychiatric Quarterly Supplement*, Part 2, 1964. (Utica, New York: State Hospitals Press), p. 2.
15. William Heath Davis; *Seventy Five Years in California*. (San Francisco: John Howell, 1967), p. 201.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 201.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 212.
18. Andrew F. Rolle; *An American in California: The Biography of William Heath Davis, 1822-1909*. (San Marino: Henry E. Huntington Library, 1956), p. 52.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 70-71.
20. "List of Vessels Arriving in the Port of San Francisco . . ."
21. Brody, "Mentally Ill," p. 2.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
23. San Francisco *Alta California*, May 22, 1882.
24. Kenneth Lamott; *Chronicles of San Quentin*. (New York: Ballantine Books, 1972), p. 14.
25. Irvin Ashkenazy; "Hell Afloat." *Westways*, July 1965, p. 15.
26. William Martin Camp; *San Francisco, Port of Gold*. (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc. 1948), p. 77.
27. San Francisco *Bulletin*, May 5, 1925.

# CHINESE IN CALIFORNIA'S

In 1850 or 1851, Chinese immigrants to America founded California's salt-water fishing industry, an industry to which they were contributing several hundred thousand dollars annually by the 1880s. Chinese fishermen were important in the business up through the turn of the century, venturing into fresh-water river fishing as well as the salt-water ocean and bays. Then, between 1905 and 1910 most disappeared from California's waters only to make a partial come-back in the 1920s and 1930s. Surprisingly, little scholarly attention has been devoted to them beyond one doctoral thesis on Chinese shrimpers on San Francisco Bay and four pages in *A History of the Chinese in California: a Syllabus* by Thomas W. Chinn, H. Mark Lai, and Philip P. Choy.<sup>1</sup>

Perhaps one reason for the neglect is that Chinese fishermen in California, unlike those of other nationalities, generally lived in small fishing villages of their own construction somewhat removed from other parts of the population. They were not an obvious part of the landscape. Their villages were located along the waterways they intended to inhabit and consisted of large, unpainted redwood cabins built on stilts out over the beaches or directly over the water.<sup>2</sup> The smallest ones had only one or two dwelling-places occupied by eight to ten fishermen at the most but the larger ones contained several hundred residents and also had a general store or two, a temple, gambling places, and in at least one case a village school.<sup>3</sup> In addition to the villages, ocean-going fishermen had semi-permanent camps on islands and protected coastal areas where they

would pitch tents over stone foundations they had constructed.<sup>4</sup>

There were four principal areas in which the Chinese fishermen built their permanent fishing villages: on San Francisco Bay, along the Sacramento-San Joaquin Rivers, in the Monterey area, and at San Diego. (Outside of California, there was another center in Oregon and a sixth on Canada's Vancouver Island.)<sup>5</sup> Of these, the area with the largest number of villages and greatest concentration of fishermen was San Francisco Bay.<sup>6</sup> There were also small, isolated villages scattered along the coast around Humboldt Bay in the north, along the San Luis Obispo County shoreline in the south, and on the islands of Santa Cruz and Santa Rosa. Semi-permanent camps have been located on San Clemente and Santa Monica Islands. There were probably more on other of the Santa Barbara Islands, Palos Verdes had one and there may have been one just south of San Francisco on the Pacific Coast side.<sup>7</sup>

The first two of these villages were constructed between 1850 and 1852, almost immediately after the start of California's gold rush. One of these was at Rincon Point on the San Francisco Bay directly under today's Bay Bridge on the San Francisco side.<sup>8</sup> The other was near Monterey.<sup>9</sup> The San Francisco village grew quickly: 150 fishermen and twenty-five boats (sampan they had constructed themselves) by 1853.<sup>10</sup> This village seems to have disappeared by 1865, however, probably crowded out by city ordinances and real estate speculation. In the meantime, other villages grew up along San Francisco Bay at places such as Point San Pedro (in Marin County: today's China Camp State Park), Point San Bruno, and Point San Mateo.<sup>11</sup>

The immediate origin of these first Chinese fishermen is not entirely clear. A few are supposed to

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# FISHING INDUSTRY, 1850-1941



have been disappointed miners driven out of the gold country by the Foreign Miners Tax of 1854.<sup>12</sup> The others may have learned fishing in China and on arriving in San Francisco decided to pursue their former calling rather than engage in the risky business of gold mining. In the 1870s their ranks were swelled when completion of the transcontinental and then various California railroads released thousands more Chinese into the labor market, a significant number of whom took up fishing. By the 1880s, there were reputed to be almost thirty Chinese fishing villages on San Francisco Bay stretching from

San Jose in the south to Marin and Contra Costa counties in the north. The number of Chinese fishermen on the bay was by this time well over 1,000, and possibly as high as 3,000-4,000 during the season.<sup>13</sup>

These fishermen were never allowed to pursue their occupation in peace. Lobbied by anti-Chinese sentiment, the State legislature instituted a monthly tax of \$4.00 on all Chinese fishermen in 1860.<sup>14</sup> At a time when the average fisherman netted \$20-\$30 a month during the season (and much less during the winter months),<sup>15</sup> this tax was enough to persuade

OVERLEAF: *Chinese owner-operators with their motor-powered sardine boats in Los Angeles harbor sometime during the first half of the century.*

many to turn to other occupations. Others brought suit against the State legislature. Pressure from the suit, loss of revenue and loss of fresh fish persuaded the latter to repeal the tax in 1864.<sup>16</sup>

An even more serious campaign against the Chinese fishermen began in the early 1880s. This time anti-Chinese sentiment found an ally in a new spirit of conservationism sweeping through state and federal fish regulatory agencies.<sup>17</sup> In addition, fishermen of other ethnic backgrounds were anxious to eliminate competition from Chinese. The result was a series of laws, many upheld by the courts, such as an 1880 one forbidding Chinese to fish commercially in California (ruled unconstitutional) and an 1897 one (held constitutional) forbidding shrimping during the months in which shrimp were abundant. (Much attention was devoted to shrimp since by this time most Chinese fishermen on San Francisco Bay pursued shrimp exclusively.) In 1905, the State legislature passed a law forbidding the export of dried shrimp to China (where ninety percent of the catch was usually sent), and in 1910 it forbade the use of the "Chinese bag net" favored by most of the Chinese fishermen on the bay.<sup>18</sup>

As a result, the number of villages ceased to grow and the number of fishermen began to decline. Numerous fishermen were prosecuted and although many hired lawyers and put up a defense, most lost their case.<sup>19</sup> By the turn of the century, the Chinese role in San Francisco Bay fishing was obviously on the decline even as the Portuguese and especially the Italians made significant gains in the industry. By 1913, most of the Chinese fishermen had been forced to abandon their trade and move elsewhere.<sup>20</sup>

A few fishermen lingered on, primarily at Hunter's Point and Point San Pedro in Marin County. A primary obstacle to Chinese working the San Francisco Bay was their heavy reliance on the "Chinese bag net." Around 1920, the Italian Spenger rede-

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*While shrimp was the principal catch of the Chinese fishermen on San Francisco Bay, it was not their only catch.*

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signed this net by attaching "wings" to it.<sup>21</sup> Formerly, the Chinese had staked the bag nets to the bottom of the bay and let tide action ensure a catch.<sup>22</sup> Spenger's revision, however, made it possible to troll with the net and state officials did not object to this as they had to the unmodified, staked net. By this time, state laws on the subject had changed so that the older Chinese bag net was once again permitted in the southern part of the bay while trolled nets were allowed in the northern portion. The Quan family of Point San Pedro, one of the few shrimping families left in the principal Marin County village, adopted this revised net and the practice of trolling. Soon, other shrimpers did so as well. The result was that in the 1930s, the near-empty shrimping village where the Quans lived filled up again as fishermen returned along with workers to salt, cook, hull and dry the catch. At about the same period, the Hunter's Point camps revived, revitalized by fishermen using the Chinese bag nets.<sup>23</sup>

Towards the end of the 1940s, the shrimp that the Hunter's Point and Point San Pedro villagers depended on began to disappear. A combination of bay fill, diversion of water to Los Angeles, pollution and

*An 1880s photograph of a Chinese shrimping village on San Francisco Bay (located in today's China Camp State Park) shows shrimp drying in the foreground.*



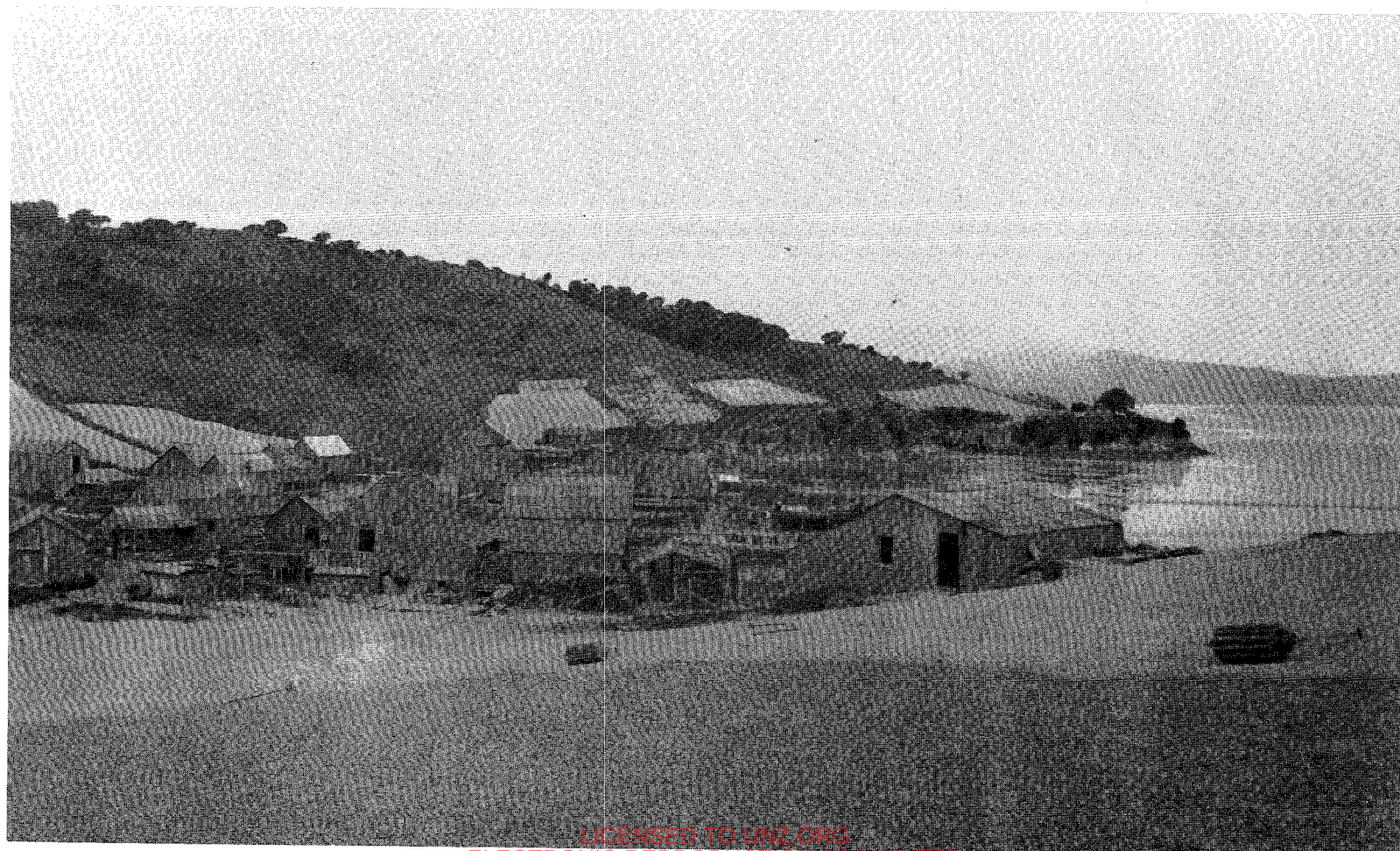
## Chinese Fishing

other factors made San Francisco Bay a much less hospitable environment for shrimp than before. Some have asserted that over-fishing was also a problem. With the decline in shrimp, the Chinese fishing centers on San Francisco Bay gradually emptied.<sup>24</sup> Currently, only one descendant of these Chinese fishermen is still on the bay pursuing shrimp: Frank Quan of the former Quan family operation, who fishes out of Marin County's China Camp.

While in the 1850s Chinese fishermen on San Francisco Bay took regular fish of all kinds, in the 1860s they began to specialize in shrimp as the above account suggests. These shrimp were not the prawns available now (most of which live in more southern waters) but small shrimp called *Crago Franciscorum*

and *Crago Vulgaris*. This shrimping was confined almost exclusively to San Francisco/San Pablo Bay, although at various times after 1870, they took shrimp in Tomales Bay as well.<sup>25</sup> Chinese were almost the only fishermen in California to take these shrimp. At certain times, they had competition from Italians but the Chinese prevailed in part because their fellow countrymen controlled the wholesale market.<sup>26</sup>

While shrimp was the principal catch of the Chinese fishermen on San Francisco Bay, it was not their only catch. Their nets caught everything moving along near the bottom of the bay, and this included large quantities of fish (sturgeon, herring, smelt, even occasional salmon) as well as shrimp.







*A portrait of one Chinese fisherman.  
Many of these men were former railway  
workers who moved into fishing villages  
after 1870.*

Some of the fishermen also took crabs and abalone, both in the Bay and along the Pacific Coast, as well as crayfish (rock lobsters) and clams.<sup>27</sup>

The fishermen sold what they could — the largest fish, the prettiest shrimp, and so forth — fresh on the wholesale market. The middle-men in most cases were Chinese wholesalers and fish peddlers (although from time to time, the several Bay area communities adopted discriminatory regulations designed to drive the fish peddlers out of business).<sup>28</sup> Prior to 1905, however, about eighty percent of the catch was dried and salted for export to China. A much smaller proportion of the dried product went to Chinese in the interior of the United States, to Hawaii, and Australia. The shrimp was hulled as part of this process, and most of the hulls were also sent to China as fertilizer. In the year 1880, for example, the Chinese shrimpers exported more than \$100,000 worth of shrimp and shrimp hulls whereas only about \$24,000 was sold fresh in nearby communities.<sup>29</sup> In 1905, a new California law forbade the exporting of salted, dried shrimp to China, causing a tremendous decline in shrimping. When shrimping revived in the 1920s, improved transportation plus a larger domestic market for the dried product enabled

the shrimpers to sell their entire catch within this country.<sup>30</sup>

Another early center of Chinese fishing was the Monterey area. Its first Chinese fishing village was established between 1850 and 1852. Little is known about the founders except that one, a man from the Tung-wan area near Canton, is supposed to have arrived in Monterey directly from China aboard a Chinese sea-going junk.<sup>31</sup>

This village was at first quite small, but in the 1870s and 1880s it began to grow in part because of the addition of former railroad workers. More villages were founded as well, so that by the turn of the century there were about four of them. The largest village, probably the descendant of the original colony, was located near what is today's Lighthouse Point at Pacific Grove. It consisted of some fifty cabins, at least one store, a Chinese temple and an outdoor shrine. Anti-Chinese sentiment plus the desire of real estate investors to develop the land, however, led an arsonist to burn this village to the ground in 1906.<sup>32</sup> Some of its residents fled to the other nearby villages, but others moved out of the Monterey area entirely. Continued anti-Chinese feeling prevented the reestablishment of the main village. Competition from Portuguese and especially Italian fishermen at about this time also decreased the profits Chinese could make. Another factor working against the Chinese fishing colonies was the reluctance of the fishermen's children (who had better educational and employment opportunities) to enter their fathers' profession. (The United States policy of Chinese Exclusion which began in 1882 had effectively cut off the possibility of the fishing villages being renewed by further immigration from China.) As a result, the Monterey area's Chinese fishing villages and Chinese fishermen gradually disappeared. By 1930, they were a thing of the past.<sup>33</sup>

In the earliest days when the Monterey area vil-



lages were being established, their fishermen pursued local bay fish without concentrating on any one specific quarry, much as was the case on San Francisco Bay.<sup>34</sup> By the turn of the century, however, they had begun specializing in squid while continuing to take the others in smaller amounts. Here again, that part of their catch which had a local market was sold fresh, usually through the agency of Chinese fish peddlers. The rest was salted and dried for shipment to Chinese in other parts of the United States or, more often, to China. The wholesalers for the dried squid were mostly Chinese.<sup>35</sup>

The pattern in San Diego was similar to that established in the San Francisco and Monterey areas. Chinese fishermen did not take up their trade around San Diego until near the end of the 1850s. Two villages subsequently developed. The earlier was located very close to old San Diego and its residents exploited San Diego Bay. The second village, founded in the early 1860s, was located almost directly across the bay much nearer the ocean beside a community then called "Roseville." The Roseville fishermen eschewed bay fishing for the open seas, working most of the coast of California and halfway down the Baja California peninsula. The principal quarry for the first decade or so was barracuda, but by 1870 they began to turn to abalone.<sup>36</sup>

Although neither ever became very large, the Roseville and San Diego villages prospered and grew in the 1870s and 1880s, swelled in part by the ranks of former railway workers. From 1880 on, however, the bay fishermen came under periodic attack for relying on the "Chinese bag net."<sup>37</sup> The ocean fishermen, who did not use this net, found themselves inconvenienced by the 1882 treaty of Chinese Exclusion since when they took their junks beyond United States territorial waters and then returned, they became liable for exclusion.<sup>38</sup> Towards the end of the 1880s, immigration officials and much of the

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*The most important fishery of the Sacramento – San Joaquin was the salmon fishery which began about 1847.*

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local populace also became convinced that these ocean fishermen were smuggling large numbers of Chinese laborers into the country. Customs officers threatened to seize the fishermen's junks and the State Legislature passed laws making it illegal for Chinese to operate them off the California coast. As a result, most of the ocean going fishermen had to sell their craft to Americans while the rest sailed their junks back to China.<sup>39</sup>

With the disappearance of the ocean fishermen, the Roseville village became a ghost town. The San Diego village was emptied when the bay fishermen found themselves unable to use the "Chinese bag net." Some of these unemployed fishermen took up farming around San Diego and were quite successful at it for a time. The rest either returned to China or moved out of the area. Since up to this time, Chinese had been the only people fishing commercially out of San Diego, the emptying of their villages left the city without fresh fish. Within a few years, however, other groups took up the trade, most notably the Portuguese.<sup>40</sup>

Although the abalone industry occupied the attention of only one of the villages near San Diego, it is

*The earliest Chinese fish peddlers used "ye-hoe poles" or wooden collars, but by the turn of the century many had switched to horse carts.*

the one that excited the most interest. Prior to their venture into abalone, the ocean fishermen had pursued barracuda, trawling with a line which had numerous hooks. They employed abalone shell as a lure, and perhaps trapping the abalone for lures led them to switch from the fish to the shellfish.<sup>41</sup>

At that time abalone was very plentiful along the California shore and could be had all the way from Tomales Bay in the north to near the tip of the Baja California peninsula in the south. San Diego's Chinese ocean fishermen, in the last two decades before they were driven off the water, regularly took their craft from Monterey halfway down the Baja peninsula in search of the abalone. This gave them a range of about 500 miles of coastline. In addition, these San Diego fishermen probably frequented the camps on San Clemente and Santa Monica Islands. San Clemente Island boasted several of these camps, all located on the western side of the island away from the American mainland. Judging by the solidity of the tent foundations and the amount of crockery left behind, they appear to have been occupied for several months at a time, suggesting that some of the ocean fishermen alternated between the permanent village at Roseville and the island camps according to season.<sup>42</sup>

In addition to the village and camps described above, permanent colonies of Chinese abalone fishermen could be found on Santa Cruz and Santa Rosa Islands<sup>43</sup> as well as along the California mainland coast from a little south of Santa Barbara to just north of San Simeon. In the Los Angeles area there was a Chinese fishing colony of some sort, probably also associated with abalone. It was located near Palos Verdes. Further north, Chinese collected much abalone on the rocks near San Francisco, and there was reportedly an anchorage for their junks at what is now Phelan Beach.<sup>44</sup>

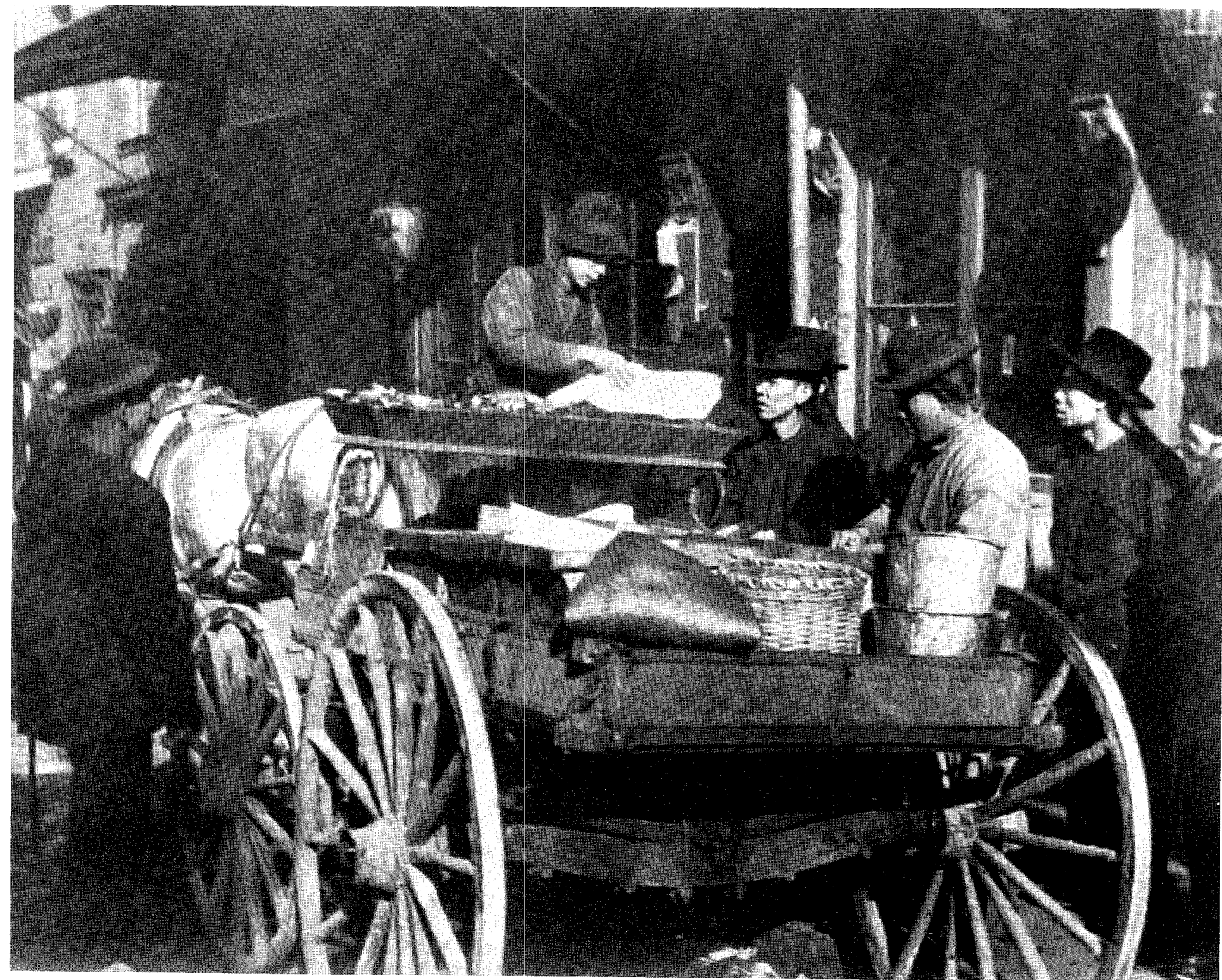
Many abalone fishermen worked from the shore

instead of from boats. In the late 1880s, a party of these (perhaps fishermen whose craft had been seized by United States customs officials) regularly employed the coastal schooner *Surprise* to take them from the Santa Barbara area to the islands off the coast. They paid the captain in abalone shells.<sup>45</sup> Around Monterey, Chinese waded into shark-infested waters to secure abalone — and incidentally secured the admiration of a number of American observers as well.<sup>46</sup> Some of those working the coast near San Francisco were certainly shoremen, while others pursued abalone along the rocky coastline in Marin County. Tomales Bay even had a tiny colony of four abalone fishermen in the 1870s.<sup>47</sup>

Just as in the shrimp fishery, the Chinese marketed both the meat and the shell of the abalone. Since residents of California other than Chinese disdained the eating of abalone in those days, most was salted and dried for export to China. At first there was no market for the shells, but in the 1870s, large-scale American exporters discovered a tremendous demand for them on the part of jewelry makers in Europe and the United States east coast, while in China they were wanted for inlay work.<sup>48</sup> Thereafter, the abalone fishermen sold most of their shells to the American wholesalers, although in the Monterey area Chinese curio shops provided another ready market. In 1879, the approximate value of the abalone meat and shells procured by fishermen in California was \$127,705, over two-thirds of which was for the shells.<sup>49</sup> Abalone were so profitable that when Chinese were denied the right to employ ocean-going craft in the fishery, other groups entered the business. Thereafter, some Chinese continued the shore fishery and later, even employed others such as Japanese to dive for deeper specimens. However, the Chinese role in the fishery was not very great once they lost their junks.<sup>50</sup>

The last major area in California where Chinese





fished was along the Sacramento-San Joaquin Rivers. The Chinese neither founded nor dominated this latter fishery but they did occupy a place of some importance in it until near the turn of the century. The most important fishery of the Sacramento-San Joaquin was the salmon fishery which began about 1847.<sup>51</sup> By 1860, most of the product of this fishery went to local canners. To give an idea of its commercial importance, the total value of salmon canned on the Sacramento-San Joaquin Rivers in the year 1880 was about \$400,935.<sup>52</sup> Chinese, however, did not fish for salmon in the Sacramento-San Joaquin because "no Chinaman (sic) are allowed to participate in it. There is no law regulating the matter, but public

opinion is so strong in relation to it, and there is such a prejudice against the Chinamen, that any attempt on their part to engage in salmon fishing would meet with a summary and probably fatal retaliation."<sup>53</sup>

There were other kinds of fish in the rivers, however, and Chinese were allowed to pursue them. They began fishing in the Sacramento-San Joaquin around 1864. Prior to the mid-1870s, they do not seem to have built any permanent fishing villages along the rivers although they did construct drying and processing sheds for their catch. The fishermen themselves lived on fishing junks.<sup>54</sup> At a later date, some time between the mid-1870s and early 1890s, they began building villages as well, although it is



*Prior to setting out their boats, the fishermen would light a stick of incense in a Chinese temple or in an outdoor shrine like this one in Monterey.*

uncertain where or how many; in fact, a sketch of one plus references to Chinese villages on the river levees are the best indication available that the fishing villages actually existed. By the time these villages were constructed, there must have been several hundred Chinese fishermen on the Sacramento-San Joaquin, but by 1910 or so, most had been driven off the rivers.<sup>55</sup>

The Chinese fishermen on the rivers also used the bag net favored by many of their countrymen on the San Francisco, Monterey, and San Diego bays. They swept the rivers and shallow marshes for their catch and were known to be extremely efficient. They also used fyke nets at certain periods and probably hooks and lines as well. With these several devices they caught sturgeon, shad, smelt, and other fish. Observers claimed they were the most industrious fishermen on the Sacramento-San Joaquin Rivers.<sup>56</sup>

Taking all of these fishing centers together, we must admit that we know far less about the fishermen themselves than we do about the villages they built and the fishing methods they used. This lack of information makes it hard to answer some of the most significant questions about them. For example, it has generally been assumed that all the Chinese in any one given fishing village would either be members of the same clan (and hence, possess the same surname) or come from the same region in China. It is possible that this was the case in the earliest days before large numbers of former railroad laborers moved to the villages. However, we only know the surname and regional affiliation of one of the early fishermen: a man named Chung Yen Hoy of Tung-wan (Tung-kwun) who was one of the first Chinese fishermen in the Monterey area.<sup>57</sup> It can be noted that Chung was not a common surname in this country among Chinese nor did many Chinese immigrants in the United States come from Tung-wan.<sup>58</sup>



Another shred of information on the subject comes from a somewhat later period. In 1877, there was a small fishing colony consisting of four men on Tomales Bay. At least one of these men but probably not all four belonged to the Sam Yup Association; and the surnames of three of the four were, respectively, Liu (Lew), Chung, and Li (Lee). Obviously, the little colony did not follow clan and probably did not follow regional lines.<sup>59</sup>

In the Monterey area fishing villages around the turn of the century, the three most common surnames were Li (Lee), Ch'en (Chin), and Huang (Wong). These three surnames were very common among Chinese in this country, suggesting only that by the turn of the century, the composition of the fishing villages was not too dissimilar from that of the other Chinese communities. No clan or regional association had branches in the Monterey area although three of the *tongs* did: the Ho-sheng t'ang (Hop Sing Tong), Ping-kung t'ang (Bing Kung



Tong), and the Hsin (?) Ts'ui-ying t'ang (San Suey Ying Tong or Sam Suey Ying Tong).<sup>60</sup>

Another question of interest is how many of these fishermen had been fishermen in China. The earliest ones — those who founded the villages — probably had been. But most of the former railway workers who moved into the villages after 1870 had not and probably the disappointed miners who tried their hand at fishing around the mid-1850s had not been either. Surely, a core of seasoned fishermen must have existed in each village to build the fishing craft, teach the others how to fish, how to mend the nets, and how to use the craft. But from 1855 or 1860 on, most of the Chinese fishermen must have been men who learned their trade here.

Fishermen were not the only people who lived in the fishing villages. Many of the earlier fishermen had their wives join them in this country — more, on the average, than did Chinese who pursued other occupations.<sup>61</sup> The presence of wives led to the presence of children. When the former miners and railroad workers began moving into the villages, however, the proportion of complete families became smaller. Many of these newcomers had originally planned to spend only a few years in this country engaged in occupations not suitable to regular family life. Once they took up fishing, they began to think of bringing wives over but United States immigration restrictions for the most part prevented this.<sup>62</sup>

In addition to wives and children, other non-fishing residents of the villages included people who helped process the catch, such as shrimp hullers and shrimp dryers in the shrimp camps.<sup>63</sup> There were also merchants in the larger villages who operated shops catering to the fishermen's needs. Several villages had a temple and the temple would have a caretaker. At least one village also had a rudimentary school for the village children — an American couple offered lessons in English and village elders seem also

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*Chinese were the most important component of the labor force in California's salmon canning industry in the nineteenth century.*

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to have hired an instructor for Chinese studies.<sup>64</sup> Finally, in the 1870s the main shrimping village in Marin County is supposed to have been used by American railroad entrepreneurs as a landing point for Chinese laborers they were smuggling in to work on the railroads — workers above and beyond the thousands that entered legally via San Francisco.<sup>65</sup>

Life in the villages for the average fisherman was hard, but under normal circumstances it could be counted on to bring in a steady income. Around the turn of the century, the annual income averaged \$400-\$500 for the Monterey area villages. An income of \$1,000, attained by a few, was considered quite good.<sup>66</sup> But the fisherman had few expenses, particularly if his family were not with him in the United States — the dollars he sent back to China went much further than they would have in this country. Several people lived together in each cabin — generally, at least the four or five members of a crew and at times, far more.<sup>67</sup> Since the cabins were built by the fishermen, the principal rent expense was for the land, and the amount any one individual had to pay was reasonably small.<sup>68</sup>

For food, the fishermen had, of course, fish (or

shrimp, squid, or abalone). In addition, he or his wife and children might collect seaweed and other marine life. During the off-season — usually the two or three months of the heaviest rains — they would start vegetable gardens which could be kept going with less attention once the fishing season began again. Many of the fishermen also kept chickens and ducks. And periodically, several people might chip in to buy a pig. Other expenses included boats — rather, the wood to build their sampans and junks — and nets (some of which were imported from China), and articles such as clothing, rice, and tea. But the frugal fisherman (and most were frugal, by necessity) could save most of his annual income or, as was more common, send it back to China to help out his parents, wife, and relatives.<sup>69</sup>

One matter of particular concern to the fishermen was the marketing of their catch. On the local level, the fishermen sold a portion fresh to Chinese fish peddlers usually at an established fresh fish wholesale market such as one on Vallejo Street in San Francisco. The fish peddlers were quite numerous until about 1910. In the nineteenth century, they carried the fish in two baskets suspended from a pole or wooden collar. Each basket could hold about 100 pounds of fish. Later, some acquired push carts and later, even trucks. Around the turn of the century, shrimp purchased from these peddlers cost ten cents a bowl.<sup>70</sup>

The fishermen sold as much fresh fish to the peddlers as possible since the fresh fish and shrimp commanded the highest price, but the market for it was always much smaller than the total catch. The fish (and squid, shrimp, abalone, and so forth) that they could not sell fresh had to be salted and dried. This accounted for eighty percent or more of the catch. The dried product was most often sold to wholesale houses, most of which were also owned by Chinese. A few of these wholesale houses still exist,

such as San Francisco's Lincoln Shrimp.<sup>71</sup> In Monterey, where Italians displaced Chinese squid fishermen around 1905, Chinese squid wholesalers continued to control distribution until about 1932.<sup>72</sup>

On the San Francisco Bay, Chinese wholesalers frequently made the rounds of the shrimp camps on junks, selected what they wanted to buy, and then brought their purchases to San Francisco. At one period, Chinese were not allowed to operate craft large enough to do this and so the fishermen hired Caucasian captains to take their dried product to San Francisco. The Chinese wholesalers then shipped most of this dried product to China aboard major carriers such as the American-owned Pacific Mail Steamship Company and later Chinese-owned China Mail Steamship Company.<sup>73</sup> A much smaller proportion of the dried product went to other Chinese communities in the continental United States and elsewhere in the world such as Hawaii, Canada, and Australia.<sup>74</sup>

Aside from the fishermen, fish peddlers, and wholesalers, other Chinese were a significant part of California's fishing industry. There were, for example, the people who helped prepare the catch for export, most notably the hundreds of people who at one time or another worked as shrimp sorters and shrimp hullers. In the nineteenth century this was usually done by shoremen connected with the various fishing crews but during the Depression of the 1930s, elderly women and young children in San Francisco did much of the work.<sup>75</sup> Furthermore, as noted above, a major carrier in the twentieth century of the salted and dried squid and fish was the China Mail Steamship Company whose owners were Chinese and Chinese American. One of these, the capitalist Liu Hsing (Lew Hing) also helped found a sardine cannery in the Monterey area during World War I: Bayside, which canned under the Cypress label.<sup>76</sup>



*Yee Won, a major wholesaler of dried squid in the Monterey area during the 1920s, stands before his loaded truck just before taking the squid to San Francisco for trans-shipment to China.*



Finally, Chinese were the most important component of the labor force in California's salmon canning industry in the nineteenth century. In the late 1880s, for example, eighty-six percent of the work force in the canneries was Chinese. Their importance came from the fact that they were willing to work for something less than the inflated wages demanded by non-Chinese. In addition, they were more dependable employees, and unlikely to quit in the middle of the season.<sup>77</sup>

In terms of broader California and United States history, the greatest significance of the Chinese fishermen lies in their discovery and development of many of California's fishing grounds. In addition, they founded the commercial fishing industry of San Diego, the Monterey area, and San Francisco/San Pablo Bay. As we have seen, these were of no small commercial importance while the Chinese dominated them and even after the Chinese were driven out, these fisheries continued to be important. The

Chinese turned California into one of this country's most important shrimp producing states during the nineteenth century, and squid fishing is still important to the Monterey economy. After Chinese were driven out of abalone fishing in the 1890s, other groups tried to take it over until the number of abalone had declined to the extent that the industry was no longer profitable.<sup>78</sup>

This brings up one final point: the frequent accusation that Chinese fishing methods depleted the supply of fish and seafood available off the California coast and in her bays and rivers. This accusation was used as the principal justification for driving the Chinese out of the fishing industry and has clouded their contribution to this day. Research on the Chinese fishermen reveals a number of contradictory statements and actions related to the charge of over-fishing. For example, there was a period when Chinese were permitted to use fyke nets on the Sacramento-San Joaquin Rivers. When they did so, they were accused of depleting the rivers but at other times, when Chinese were not allowed to use these nets and Caucasians did use them instead (rather extensively), there was little concern on the part of authorities about over-fishing and no talk of passing laws to stop it.<sup>79</sup>

Abalone presents another kind of example: when Chinese were fishing for them, a number of authorities feared so much abalone was being taken that they would disappear entirely from the California waters. Yet even though Chinese lost their importance in the abalone fishery around 1890, the fishery continued to be profitable for at least another twelve years.<sup>80</sup> In a word, the over-fishing appears to be something non-Chinese were in part responsible for.

Another point worth mentioning is the fact that the California Department of Fish and Game at times put out regulations that were inconsistent with its fears concerning the fish. For example, around the

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*Research on the Chinese fishermen reveals a number of contradictory statements and actions related to the charge of over-fishing.*

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turn of the century a number of official reports stated Chinese were emptying San Francisco Bay of fish by catching young fish — catching bigger fish was all right. Yet at this same period, Chinese shrimpers were required to throw back any big fish they caught and permitted to keep the small ones; and were prosecuted if they failed to do this.<sup>81</sup>

While the Chinese quite probably over-fished certain areas at certain times, the matter has been greatly exaggerated and unfairly so. On the whole, then, looked at from every standpoint, it can be concluded that the Chinese contribution to California's fishing industry has been a decidedly positive one and one which deserves wider recognition.

Photographs appearing on pages 146 and 150 are from the Pat M. Hathaway Collection, Pacific Grove, California. The view of a shrimping village on page 145 is courtesy of the National Maritime Museum, San Francisco. The photo on page 153 is from the Jack H. Yee Collection. All others are from the CHS Library.



## Notes

1. See Thomas W. Chinn, H. Mark Lai and Philip P. Choy (eds.), *A History of the Chinese in California: a Syllabus* (San Francisco: Chinese Historical Society of America, 1969), pp. 38-41; and Robert Nash, "The Chinese Shrimp Fishery of California" (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1973).
2. Interview with Frank Quan (shrimper on San Francisco Bay), January, 1979 and interview with Ben Hoang (descendant of Monterey-area fishermen), September and June, 1977 and April, 1979. Don M. Stewart, *Frontier Post: a Chapter in San Diego's History* (Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie Press, 1965), p. 15 informs us that the redwood was rot-resistant and after being weathered by the salt air, even acted as a fire retardant.
3. Interview with L. Michael Axeford (archaeologist who has excavated some of the temporary camps), March and June, 1979; and Jeffrey Bingham (California State Park Archaeologist), "Brief History and Description (of China Camp in Marin County)" in "Application for Registration of Historical Landmark," September, 1978, pp. 2-4.
4. Interview with L. Michael Axeford.
5. John S. Hittell, *The Commerce and Industries of the Pacific Coast of North America* (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft and Co., 1882), pp. 349-354; and Arthur F. McEvoy, "In Places Men Reject: the Chinese Fishermen at San Diego, 1870-1893" (unpublished manuscript, San Diego Historical Society Library and Manuscripts Collection), pp. 1-37. A shorter version of this article was published in *The Journal of San Diego History*, Vol. XXIII (Fall, 1977), pp. 12-24.
6. Chinn, Lai and Choy, *Chinese in California*, pp. 36-41.
7. Gladys Hansen (ed.), *San Francisco: the Bay and Its Cities* (New York: Hastings House, 1973), p. 291; and George Brown Goode (ed.), *The Fisheries and Fishery Industries of the United States*, Sec. 5, Vol. 2 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1887), pp. 622-626.
8. *Chambers's Journal*, No. 3 (January 21, 1854), Vol. 1, p. 48; and McEvoy, "Chinese Fishermen at San Diego," p. 15.
9. Interviews with Ben Hoang.
10. Dorothy H. Huggins, *Continuation of the Annals of San Francisco* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1939), p. 79; and *Chambers's Journal*, Vol. 1, p. 48.
11. Nash, "Chinese Shrimp Fishery," pp. 125-127.
12. Huggins, *Annals of San Francisco*, p. 79.
13. Hittell, *Commerce and Industries* pp. 249-254; McEvoy, "Chinese Fishermen at San Diego," pp. 19-20; and Philip L. Weaver, "Salt Water Fisheries of the Pacific Coast" in *Overland Monthly*, Vol. 20 (1892), p. 159. Estimates of the number of fishermen vary greatly. One source even claims that 10,000 Chinese shrimpers lived in Marin County at one time, but judging from the number of boats and other factors, this appears unreasonable. The total number of fishermen of all nationalities operating in California waters in 1888 was about 5,000. See United States Commission of Fish and Fisheries, *Report of the Commission for 1888 (Part XVI)* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1892), p. 21.
14. Corinne K. Hoexter, *From Canton to California* (New York: Four Winds Press, 1976), p. 101; and William J. Courtney, *San Francisco's Anti-Chinese Ordinances* (San Francisco: R and E Research Associates, 1974), p. 9.
15. *Chambers's Journal*, Vol. 1, p. 48.
16. Hoexter, *Canton to California*, p. 101; and Courtney, *Anti-Chinese Ordinances*, p. 9.
17. Nash, "Chinese Shrimp Fishery," pp. 132-133. For an example of this, see David Starr Jordan, "The Fisheries of California" in *Overland Monthly*, Vol. 20 (1892), pp. 473-474.
18. Nash, "Chinese Shrimp Fishery," pp. 133-139; and Courtney, *Anti-Chinese Ordinances*, p. 34.
19. *Ibid.*; State of California vs. Ah Chung et al (Contra Costa County Superior Court U1828), February, 1890; and Habeus Corpus U914, Contra Costa County Superior Court (Ah Chowe et al for writ of habeus corpus), June, 1910.
20. Nash, "Chinese Shrimp Fishery," pp. 137-139; McEvoy, "Chinese Fishermen at San Diego," pp. 33-34; and interviews with Ben Hoang.
21. Interview with Frank Quan.
22. *Ibid.*; and U.S. Commission of Fish and Fisheries, *Report, 1888*, pp. 146-153.
23. Interview with Frank Quan; and Nash, pp. 138-139.
24. *Ibid.*
25. Goode, *Fishery Industries*, Sec. 5, Vol. 2, pp. 807-810; and interview with Frank Quan.
26. Interview with Frank Quan; and "Transcript of an Interview with Mr. David Chan of Lincoln Shrimp conducted by Robert A. Nash and Thomas W. Chinn with Leone Nash, January 23, 1970" in *Bulletin of the Chinese Historical Society of America*, Vol. 12, No. 4 (pp. 1-8) and No. 5 (pp. 6-8).
27. Hittell, *Commerce and Industries*, pp. 349-354 and pp. 366-367; Goode, *Fishery Industries*, Sec. 5, Vol. 2, p. 657, pp. 798-799, and pp. 807-810; and interview with Frank Quan.
28. Courtney, *Anti-Chinese Ordinances*, p. 51; and *Daily Alta California*, October 7 and October 9, 1864.
29. Goode, *Fishery Industries*, Sec. 5, Vol. 2, pp. 807-809.
30. Interview with Frank Quan.
31. Interviews with Ben Hoang.
32. William Millis, "When Chinatown Burned" in *Monterey Peninsula Herald*, March 25, 1941; and *Herald Weekend Magazine*, November 16, 1975, pp. 1-10.
33. Interviews with Ben Hoang; and Nash, "Chinese Shrimp Fishery," p. 22. The last Chinese fishing colony in the Monterey area consisted of three men — relatives by blood or

- marriage — who had a cabin and boats and worked the bay in the 1920s.
34. In the 1880s, these fishermen caught flounder, rockfish, smelt, squid, abalone, octopus, crayfish, and crabs. See Hittell, *Commerce and Industries*, pp. 249-254; and Goode, *Fishery Industries*, Sec. 5, Vol. 2, p. 657 and pp. 798-799.
  35. Prior to the 1920s, most squid fishermen sold their catch to the Chinese wholesale houses in San Francisco. In the 1920s, however, a wholesale merchant established himself in Monterey. Interviews with Ben Hoang; and letter to the author from Jack K. Yee, June, 1979.
  36. McEvoy, "Chinese Fishermen at San Diego," p. 12; Goode, *Fishery Industries*, Sec. 5, Vol. 2, pp. 622-626; and Stewart, *Frontier Post*, p. 17.
  37. Jordan, *Overland Monthly*, pp. 473-74; and McEvoy, "Chinese Fishermen at San Diego," pp. 17-18.
  38. McEvoy, "Chinese Fishermen at San Diego," pp. 19-36.
  39. *Ibid.*, pp. 29-37; and Stewart, *Frontier Post*, p. 17.
  40. McEvoy, "Chinese Fishermen at San Diego," p. 37.
  41. Stewart, *Frontier Post*, p. 17.
  42. Interviews with L. Michael Axeford.
  43. Goode, *Fishery Industries*, Sec. 5, Vol. 2, pp. 662-626. These island fishermen also took quantities of rockfish. See Hittell, *Commerce and Industries*, pp. 349-354.
  44. Jordan, *Overland Monthly*, p. 474; Goode, *Fishery Industries*, Sec. 5, Vol. 2, pp. 622-626; and Hansen, *San Francisco*, p. 291. Over twenty discarded stone anchors and other artifacts from these fishermen have been located in the waters between Los Angeles and the Santa Barbara Islands. Letters to the author from F. J. Frost, June and August, 1979.
  45. Goode, *Fishery Industries*, Sec. 5, Vol. 2, pp. 622-626.
  46. Hoexter, *Canton to California*, pp. 98-101.
  47. J. P. Munro-Fraser (ed.), *History of Marin County, California* (Petaluma, Ca.: Charmaina Burdell Veronda, 1972 reprint of the 1880 edition), pp. 249-250.
  48. McEvoy, "Chinese Fishermen at San Diego," p. 4. The shells then became more valuable than the abalone meat. The business was so profitable that a number of Americans in the Los Angeles area began pursuing abalone but taking California as a whole, the Chinese outnumbered the Americans in terms of numbers of fishermen, value of catch, and numbers of vessels employed. For a while, however, two-thirds of the abalone that passed through Los Angeles was taken by Americans and only one-third by Chinese. Goode, *Fishery Industries*, Sec. 5, Vol. 2, pp. 622-626.
  49. Goode, *Fishery Industries*, Sec. 5, Vol. 2, p. 624.
  50. Nash, "The Abalone Fishery" (unpublished paper, archives of the Chinese Historical Society of Southern California).
  51. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California (1860-1890)*, Vol. 7 (Santa Barbara: Wallace Hebbard, 1970), p. 149 notes that commercial salmon fishing on the Sacramento River began no later than 1850. I have even seen an account that claims it began in 1847.
  52. Goode, *Fishery Industries*, Sec. 5, Vol. 1, p. 753.
  53. *Ibid.*, pp. 735-737.
  54. *Ibid.*
  55. Painting by Charles Graham, "The Sacramento River" in *The Wave*, December 19, 1896, p. 15; Goode, *Fishery Industries*, Sec. 5, Vol. 1, pp. 735-737; and John Thompson, "The Settlement Geography of the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta, California" (unpublished PhD thesis, Stanford University, 1957). The latter mentions Chinese towns on the levees of the Sacramento-San Joaquin although it does not discuss the livelihood of the inhabitants. See pp. 318-323.
  56. Goode, *Fishery Industries*, Sec. 5, Vol. 1, p. 738.
  57. Interviews with Ben Hoang (grandson of Chung Yen Hoy).
  58. Chinn, Lai and Choy, *Chinese in California*, pp. 2-4 and pp. 66-67.
  59. Munro-Fraser, *Marin County*, pp. 249-250.
  60. Interviews with Ben Hoang.
  61. McEvoy, "Chinese Fishermen at San Diego," pp. 19-20 and *Herald Weekend Magazine*, November 16, 1975, pp. 1-10 quoting an 1875 report on Monterey-area Chinese fishermen.
  62. As Courtney, *Anti-Chinese Ordinances*, suggests (pp. 22-23 and p. 43), from at least 1854 on, it was generally assumed by non-Chinese that most if not all Chinese women coming to the United States were prostitutes, and regulations were enacted making it very difficult for Chinese women to enter the country. In 1882, Chinese Exclusion began which specifically forbade any Chinese classified as laborers to bring their wives into this country.
  63. Nash, thesis (hereinafter referred to simply as "Nash"), p. 293 and p. 301; Goode, *Fishery Industries*, Sec. 5, Vol. 2, pp. 807-810; and Weaver, *Overland Monthly*, p. 159.
  64. Bingham, "Brief History," pp. 2-4. An 1890s photograph of the Point San Pedro shrimp camps in the collection of the National Maritime Museum in San Francisco shows what appears to be this couple, several village children, and a Chinese dressed in the clothes of a scholar. If the latter was not a teacher, he must have been what the 1880 Census referred to as an "instructor in Joss worship." George Epidendio, "The Death of China Camp" in *San Francisco Magazine*, October, 1962, pp. 17-19 and p. 34 makes an oblique reference to a teacher for Chinese studies.
  65. Epidendio, "Death of China Camp," pp. 17-19. At the period in question, ships were limited as to the number of Chinese passengers they could bring into the country and other regulations were in effect hampering immigration — hence, the motivation for smuggling.



## Chinese Fishing

66. Interviews with Ben Hoang.
67. Nash, pp. 158-162. As for the boats themselves, these were constructed by the fishermen out of redwood boards (heated then bent to shape). The craft, sampans and junks, ranged from eight feet in length for the smallest sampan to sixty feet for the largest, three-masted sea-going junk. Masts and rudders were made out of iron-wood imported from China. Sails were of the Chinese "lateen" style with bamboo stays. These craft are supposed to have been extremely well made, and the larger junks could and sometimes did cross the ocean. McEvoy, "Chinese Fishermen at San Diego," pp. 12-24; and Stewart, *Frontier Post*, pp. 16-17. Sampans without sails were sculled out of the stern.
68. *Ibid.*; and Epidendio, "Death of China Camp," pp. 17-19 and p. 34. In the 1880s, the lessor of the land on which the Point San Pedro villages were built is supposed to have made 100% profit off the rent charged to the Chinese fishermen.
69. Interviews with Ben Hoang; interview with Frank Quan; McEvoy, "Chinese Fishermen at San Diego," and Weaver, *Overland Monthly*, pp. 159-161.
70. Interview with Ethel Kerns, November, 1977; McEvoy, "Chinese Fishermen at San Diego," pp. 9-10; Weaver, *Overland Monthly* pp. 18-19; Goode, *Fishery Industries*, Sec. 5, Vol. 1, pp. 737-738; and U.S. Commission of Fish and Fisheries, *Report . . . 1888*, pp. 146-153. Retail fish markets were controlled by people from the Hsiang-shan district in China's Kwangtung province. See Nash, pp. 157-158. In addition, peddlers in San Francisco may all have been men surnamed Chao (Chew) from the Hsin-hui (Sunwui) district — that, at any rate, was true of vegetable peddlers from at least the turn of the century on. See interview with Chew Long, June, 1978.
71. Interviews with Ben Hoang; and Nash, pp. 157-158.
72. One of the last large-scale wholesalers of dried squid operated out of the Monterey area. Named Yee Won, he was in business from at least 1924 to 1932. He owned a general goods store catering to fishermen as well as wholesaling squid. Even later, some of Monterey's fresh fish (albacore and salmon) was marketed by Regal Seafood, a business owned by Chinese Americans (Howard and Edwin Low and three others) which was still in existence as late as 1978. Interview and letter from Jack Yee, June, 1979 and interview with Howard Low, September, 1977.
73. Interviews with Ben Hoang; and Nash, pp. 157-158.
74. Goode, *Fishery Industries*, Sec. 5, Vol. 2, pp. 807-810.
75. Interview with Frank Quan; and Nash, pp. 165-167.
76. Interviews with Ben Hoang; Liu Ling, *Hua-ch'iao jen-wu chih* (Los Angeles: East-West Culture Publishing Association, 1949), p. 251. Other major investors in Monterey's Bayside were Ben Hoang, Lew Hing Dat, and Er Tuck. Thomas Foon Chew was also briefly involved. (Both Thomas Foon Chew and Lew Hing had large fruit and vegetable canneries elsewhere, Lew Hing in Oakland and Thomas Foon Chew around Palo Alto and on the Sacramento River.)
77. Goode, *Fishery Industries*, Sec. 5, Vol. 1, pp. 747-748; and Nash, p. 18.
78. Chinn, Lai and Choy, *Chinese in California*, p. 41.
79. Goode, *Fishery Industries*, Sec. 5, Vol. 1, pp. 737-738; and U.S. Commission of Fish and Fisheries, *Report . . . 1888*, pp. 146-153.
80. In 1902, abalone had become so scarce that United States authorities restricted the taking of most abalone under fifteen inches in circumference. Chinn, Lai and Choy, p. 41. California later forbade the export of any abalone. Interview with Gee Guey, November, 1978.
81. Nash, pp. 134-137; State of California vs. Ah Chung et al, February 1890; and Ah Chowe et al for writ of habeas corpus, June, 1910.

# TRENOR PARK

## A New Englander in California

Gold and the business of gold were the twin magnets that drew literally thousands of men, and later their wives and children, to San Francisco in the middle of the nineteenth century. It was 1848 when gold was first discovered at Sutter's Fort in the western foothills of the Sierra Nevada. Four years later, the small hamlet of San Francisco, which provided banking, retailing and other services for the mines, found its population increased thirty-four times.

To understate the case, San Francisco in the 1850s was a boom town. Recent histories have called it the "instant city."<sup>1</sup> During its early years, the Bay City's economic atmosphere was one of energy and optimism favoring material growth. This atmosphere was fueled by a spirit of rampant individualism in which adventurers, businessmen, gold seekers and pleasure seekers were motivated by a search for wealth. Trenor William Park, a native New Englander, was such an individual.

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A man of modest means when he arrived on the West Coast, Trenor Park left it eleven years later a wealthy financier with connections and aspirations that spanned a continent. His story is that of a man whose talents were particularly adapted to the energetic atmosphere of early San Francisco. He brought many of his relatives with him to California, and his California experience exemplifies the important role of the extended family in mid-nineteenth century America.

Fortunately the story of this New Englander's California career is also preserved and symbolized in two historic houses listed on the National Register of Historic Places, one of which is in California. *Falkirk* in San Rafael is an 1888 mansion in Queen Anne and Eastlake style which Park's second wife built with her inheritance from his estate. The house was designed by architect Clinton Day.<sup>2</sup> Located at 1408 Mission Avenue, it is now owned and maintained by the City of San Rafael.

The Park-McCullough House in North Bennington, Vermont, was built by Park in 1865 when he returned from San Francisco. Designed by architects Diaper and Dudley, this house, in the Second Empire and Mansard style, is now maintained as an historic site and community center by a non-profit corpora-





*Trenor Park, a native of Vermont, came to California in 1852.*





*In a photograph taken shortly before he left for California, Park is shown with his wife, Laura, and daughter Eliza. Unlike many others who came West, Park had his family with him from the beginning.*

tion which owns and administers the house.

Trenor Park was a lawyer in 1851 when he made the decision to go to California. He was practicing law in Bennington, Vermont, in the shadows of the Green Mountains, only a few miles from Woodford, Vermont, the town of his birth.

Park was an ambitious man — even driven. Perhaps he was hard to get along with, but he was also energetic, imaginative and creative. For him and for other men like him, San Francisco represented opportunity. There were fortunes to be made in banking, real estate and commerce, not to mention the gold mines themselves. But life in the West was precarious, and for every man who made a fortune, there were many more who returned home with empty pockets, disillusioned with America's newest

land of promised plenty. As one New Englander wrote: "I think this is the greatest country in the world, tho many who come here to make a fortune in a year or two are disappointed . . ."<sup>3</sup>

Perhaps one of the most important things that Park had going for him was luck. Hiland Hall, his father-in-law, was head of the California Land Commission appointed by President Fillmore in 1851. Hall arrived in San Francisco about six months before Park and did much of the scouting for his son-in-law, writing him that there were good opportunities there for a bright young lawyer.

Also, Trenor Park, unlike many others, had his family with him from the beginning. During the gold rush, most men came to California alone; they later called for their wives and children. The ratio of



## Trenor Park

men to women in San Francisco in 1852 was six to one, and the lack of family contributed to the gambling, drinking, street life and loneliness.<sup>4</sup>

What induced Park to bring his family is uncertain. Perhaps it was the slight lowering of the risks brought about by the previous presence of his father-in-law. Or, it may have been that young Park (he was twenty-eight when he left for California) realized a need for the constancy and support of home and family. Whatever the reason, he brought with him not only his wife and three-year-old daughter, Eliza, but also his mother-in-law, a sister-in-law, and a close friend of the family, Charles Lincoln. On April 26, 1852, in New York harbor this group of Vermonters boarded the steamship *Illinois* en route to the Isthmus of Panama.

The trip lasted about two weeks, and each member of the Park entourage had his or her own version of the pleasures or pains of the voyage. Family friend Charles Lincoln pronounced the *Illinois* "very prosperous" and a "large and splendid ship"<sup>5</sup> Eliza Park wrote in her memoirs that the ship was "small, crowded, dirty, with a smell of its own warranted to produce sea sickness of the first order."<sup>6</sup> The amount of sea sickness which each endured no doubt affected their perceptions of the voyage. Indeed, Eliza's mother, Laura, was seasick for almost the whole trip. Later Laura wrote: "I do not think it pays to make that awful journey . . . I will not do it again."<sup>7</sup> However, while Mrs. Park was below and feeling very unhappy, Charlie Lincoln was on deck passing among the passengers, chatting with each and paying particular attention to the many women who were coming west to meet their husbands.

When the *Illinois* docked at the Isthmus, the Park family jockeyed with other passengers to get room aboard one of the barges that would take them up the Chagres River. For Charlie Lincoln, the barge ride was as much fun as the steamboat. Reclining with a

bottle of claret, he enjoyed watching and listening to the six Panamanians who powered the barge. Despite the tropical scene, he imagined himself on the Rialto in Venice.

Trenor Park was more realistic, and for him the barge trip may have been more than just a joy ride. The particular barge in which he and his party were traveling was occupied by some of the most aristocratic of travelers, including Fernando Wood, a New York City investor who was going west to drop great sums in San Francisco real estate. Park may have used this unique social occasion to further his own financial ends, for a few days after arriving in San Francisco, he was acting as Fernando Wood's real estate agent.

Park and his family landed in San Francisco on May 22, 1852, aboard the *Golden Gate* from Panama, and within two weeks the young New Englander had won a victory in court against one of the well-known attorneys in the city, James McDougal. A few months later, Trenor Park joined San Francisco's most prestigious law firm, that of Halleck, Peachy and Billings.

Throughout their first summer in San Francisco, the Park family lived in a small rented house which, according to Charlie Lincoln, "a span of donkeys could draw all over the world." For what must have seemed the extremely high sum of \$65.00 a month, the family rented four rooms. The space had to accommodate not only Trenor, his wife and daughter, Eliza, but also the entourage which had accompanied them to San Francisco. Mrs. Park hung blankets across the width of the rooms, thereby creating separate sleeping quarters upstairs for her husband, her father, Hiland Hall, and Charlie Lincoln. She and the other women slept downstairs in a room which doubled as dining room, kitchen and bedroom.<sup>8</sup>

Years later, Eliza recalled her family's first home in San Francisco:

*“I have lived through it all—  
I have waited for this day with patience,  
and meet it with a cheerful spirit”*

The first memory is of a little sandy yard back of a small frame house somewhere in the sandhills where I played and was happy, not overburdened with the problems the elder members of the family had to meet in adapting themselves to so new and strange a life. Housekeeping must have had unforeseen difficulties in the surrounding conditions, and the high cost of every commodity.<sup>9</sup>

Undoubtedly Eliza and the others were pleased when Park's admission to the Halleck, Peachy and Billings law firm allowed the family to move into a larger house in fashionable Pleasant Valley on Tehama Street near Third. Some things did not change, however. According to Eliza Park, there were still unlimited sand lots on every side except across the front “where my Mother made a garden with wonderful roses and sweet smelling flowers.” Eliza continued:

The street was boarded over, and I can recall the sound of the rattling watercart as it came to deliver water bought by the pail for domestic purposes. And I can hear now the echoing footsteps of my Father on the plank walk as I sat beside my Mother listening for it in anxious hours later on when his life was threatened . . .<sup>10</sup>

The threat on Eliza's father's life probably occurred during 1855. Violence, threats and duels were common in early San Francisco, and Trenor Park was as vulnerable as anyone to this method of settling arguments. What makes Park's involvement particularly interesting is that he often responded by attempting to out-manipulate his opponents in the courtroom or at the bargaining table.

Park's troubles began in the winter of 1855 when he was charged with embezzlement by the receiver (treasurer) of Adams & Co., Alfred Cohen. Park had been serving as a lawyer for Adams & Co., and according to his testimony, Cohen had attempted to bribe him. The Vermonter stated that Cohen offered him \$153,000 as part of a deal to help keep the bank, Adams & Co. afloat.<sup>11</sup> The offer was made at a late

night meeting held at Park's house for the purpose of staving off an anticipated run on the bank. That meeting did not go smoothly. An agreement was not reached, and the next day the banking house of Adams & Co. closed its doors never to reopen.

Alfred Cohen was undoubtedly dissatisfied with Park for refusing to participate in the proposed deal. His charges of embezzlement hurt Park's credibility, reputation and pride. The young New England lawyer and his family had been planning to leave that spring on a visit to the East. After Cohen's embezzlement charge, they managed a quick exit. Rumors spread that Park had sneaked out of the city after hiding for three days aboard a steamer.

While on the East Coast, Park spent much of his time in Boston consulting with Alvin Adams, owner of the Boston-based Adams Express Company, of which Adams & Co. of San Francisco was a branch. Mr. Adams and his Boston firm were liable for the debts of the San Francisco bank. Park returned from the East with a power of attorney from Adams. His job was to attempt to work out financial settlements so as to prevent Mr. Adams and his company, the Adams Express, from having to pay the West coast creditors in full.

When Park arrived back in California that June, \$43,000 which had been on hand at Adams & Co. the night of the failure, was mysteriously missing. Alfred Cohen had supposedly been holding the money in trust for the Court awaiting distribution to the creditors. Cohen also could not put his hands on the bank's books which would show exactly how much money had been in the vaults the night of the failure.<sup>12</sup> It now looked as if Mr. Cohen and his cohorts had pocketed a great deal of the gold and dust belonging to Adams & Co. Park instituted an embezzlement suit against Cohen to recover these funds.

That summer must have been an extremely difficult one for Trenor Park. To begin with, Alfred



Cohen's brother, Frederick, knocked Park down in the street. A duel or fight could have followed but instead Park walked away from his assailant. Park's ability to turn the other cheek may seem admirable from a historical perspective, but there was another point of view at the time. Park's law partner, A. C. Peachy, was a southerner, and he felt that Park's refusal to fight or duel was a disgrace to the law firm. On August 15, 1855, Trenor Park was forced to leave the firm of Halleck, Peachy and Billings. That month, Park's wife wrote: "Poor Train, he has had enough to kill any one man."<sup>13</sup>

However, on March 10, 1856, before a crowded courtroom the young New Englander delivered his final arguments in the trial of Alfred Cohen for embezzlement. His case was very convincing, because he had been aided by a curious stroke of fate. On February 28th, a laborer found a set of books, mysteriously sewn up in a cloth bag, floating in San Francisco Bay near the North Point Dock Warehouse. The books were, in fact, the much publicized account books which showed conclusively the assets of Adams & Co. on the night of the failure.

The story of the discovery made headlines in James King's *Daily Evening Bulletin*. A friend of the laborer had first come to King late at night with the news of the discovery. The finder was not ready to hand over the books immediately, so later that same night a meeting was held at Trenor Park's house. According to King: "Park came right to the point by asking the fellow his price."<sup>14</sup>

With the books in hand Park's case was made. Three hours after the final arguments, a jury returned a verdict of guilty, and Alfred Cohen was convicted of embezzling \$290,000 of the assets of Adams & Co.

For Trenor Park, the trial against Alfred Cohen was not just a professional victory; it was also a personal triumph. Cohen's charge of embezzlement had lowered the young lawyer's standing in the commun-

ity; he had lost his position with the best law firm in town; his financial situation was precarious and his pride had been offended. In his arguments before the jury, Park referred to the personal animosity which existed between himself and Cohen. Park's words took on a self-congratulatory tone as he referred to his anticipated victory against Mr. Cohen: "I have lived through it all — I have waited for this day in patience, and meet it with a cheerful spirit."<sup>15</sup>

Park also used his arguments before the jury to refuse the challenge by Cohen's counsel of another fight or duel. In answering his opponent's call to fight, Park referred to his New England education and "the laws of my native state — the good old state of Vermont." "To die as a fool dieth" would be the consequence of a duel according to Park.<sup>16</sup>

The Vermont lawyer was a slight man, not much more than five feet in height and not more than one hundred and thirty pounds. One might guess what the odds would have been if Park were involved in a fist fight. Whether it was his New England upbringing, his moral code or just the fact of his size, the aversion Park had to fighting meant that he was probably even more anxious than most to emerge victorious from the courtroom.

After the trial, James King of William escorted the triumphant lawyer out onto the crowded street. Needless to say, Mr. Cohen's counsel was leaving at the same time, and the crowd held its breath for a long moment as the two lawyers crossed paths. A second challenge was not offered and there were no reports of any fighting.<sup>17</sup>

To people like King, a newspaper editor and supporter of local municipal reform, the young lawyer from Vermont appeared to be supporting the cause of reform in San Francisco. To him, Trenor Park was the champion of the merchants and citizens who had lost their shirts in the banking failure.

However, Trenor Park was not a reformer; he was

*"I had been absent from the city  
nearly eight months, and it had grown  
almost out of my knowledge"*

not a champion of the people. At another of his late night meetings, he struck a deal with the bank, Palmer, Cook & Co. (where Alfred Cohen had deposited some of the gold from Adams & Co.). According to the agreement, Palmer, Cook & Co. had to pay only half of what they owed the creditors of Adams & Co. The "shenanigans" of this meeting were much criticized by the reform press and perhaps with justification.<sup>18</sup> Trenor Park's accounts with Joseph Palmer show \$14,000 to Park's credit from the assets of Adams & Co. "not otherwise accounted for."<sup>19</sup> Although the creditors of Adams & Co. received hardly anything on their claims, the Vermont lawyer was more fortunate.

In his dealings with friends and associates, there was evident in Park an independence and a clarity of purpose related to financial gain and individual advancement which often superseded loyalties and alliances. Among the young lawyer's peers it is almost impossible to discern a strong pattern of support.

When Park had been with Halleck, Peachy and Billings for less than a year, he asked a friend and fellow lawyer in Vermont, Oscar Lovell Shafter, to join him in San Francisco and assist him with legal work. Upon arriving in California, Shafter was very impressed with his boss, Trenor Park, and he wrote of him: "Park is very smart and efficient — more so than all the rest (Halleck, Peachy and Billings) put together."<sup>22</sup> In 1858 the two Vermonters joined in the firm of C.H.S. Williams, Shafter and Park. At that time, Shafter noted that his associate from the Green Mountain State was a "very available business associate."<sup>23</sup> In the last firm which the Vermonters formed, Shafter, Heydenfeldt and Park, there was a great deal of animosity and resentment on the part of the other members of the firm toward Trenor Park, and in the end it took a court arbitrator to distribute the effects, property and assets of Shafter, Heydenfeldt & Park.<sup>24</sup>

If Trenor Park was an individualist whose motivation seemed to stem from a search for material rewards, he was not alone in early San Francisco. Indeed the prevailing mood of the city was one which centered upon self-aggrandizement. As one New England resident of early San Francisco wrote: "There was never a community where self exalted its horn so much in fact as it does here. Men talk with their fellows in the streets but for a purpose; . . . It is all the result of refined calculation relating to personal gain."<sup>25</sup>

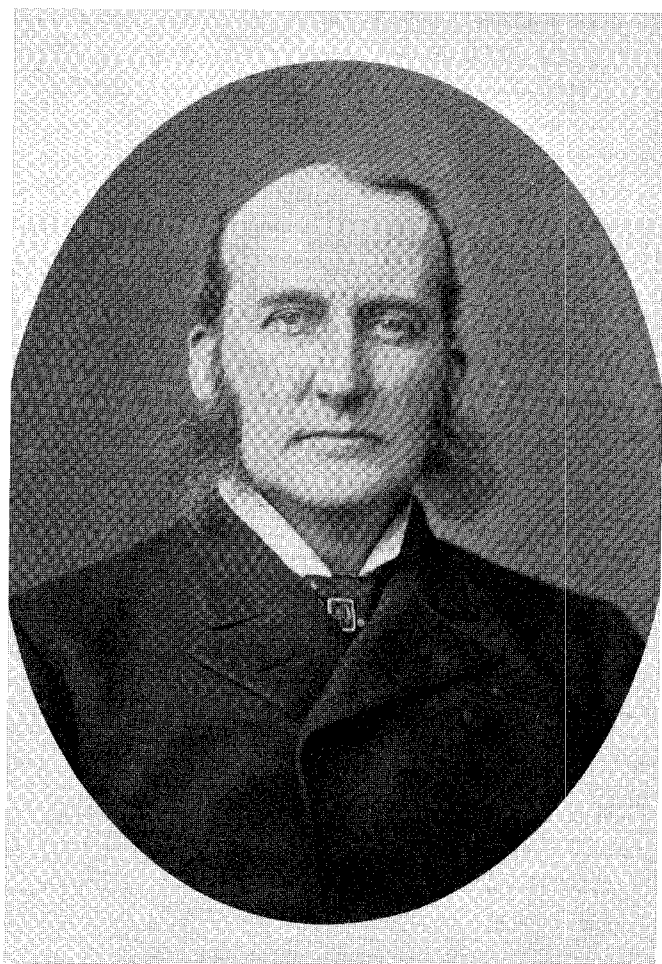
Some of the largest fortunes in San Francisco in the 1850s were made by those who invested heavily in real estate.<sup>26</sup> Like many others who were eager to make money, Trenor Park invested in real property. Besides his own home in the fashionable Pleasant Valley, he purchased other residential lots, warehouse and wharf property, ranches outside of town, and a dairy farm in San Rafael. In San Francisco, lots on Powell Street, Sutter Street, Jackson and East Streets belonged to Park in 1861.

He was an absentee landlord much of the time, and a somewhat negligent one. The East Street property contained a warehouse, and in 1863 one of Park's assistants wrote about that piece of property: "The tenants were unwilling to meet any advance in rents and from the condition of the property I could not blame them."<sup>27</sup>

Although land set the stage for the designs and fortunes of growth, it was the buildings themselves which symbolized the pride and spirit of the city. Herein were exhibited the riches accumulated; herein was symbolized the optimism of builders, bankers and financiers; herein were goals realized and civilization proclaimed.

Charlie Lincoln wrote in 1853: "I had been absent from the city nearly eight months, and it had grown almost out of my knowledge; hundreds of brick buildings have gone up, the largest and the pride of





*Charles Lincoln was an old family friend of the Parks and came to San Francisco with them.*

the city will be the one Park is erecting.”<sup>28</sup>

Early in 1853, before Trenor Park had left Halleck, Peachy and Billings, he and Frederick Billings obtained a lease on a piece of property on the corner of Washington and Montgomery Streets in the heart of San Francisco’s banking district. Fernando Wood owned the property, and because Park, the young lawyer, was Wood’s real estate agent, he was in a good position to make a deal favorable to Billings and himself.

On this piece of land, Halleck, Peachy, Billings and Park built a \$300,000 building known as the “Montgomery Block.” As Lincoln indicated it was the pride of the city. It was four stories high and measured 157 feet by 122 feet. It was completed in the late fall of 1853, and a housewarming was held two days before Christmas.<sup>29</sup>

“Tubbed coco palms, sofas in red velvet, valanced rockers and tall brass cuspidors” filled the second floor lobby.<sup>30</sup> Descriptions of the building project a

sense of the monumental, the genteel and the elegant. In his book, *Ark of Empire*, Idwall Jones writes: “The Block was a manifestation of its (San Francisco’s) solidity. It was the assembly place of the City . . . the meeting point of all professions, the clearinghouse of all commerce and trade, the nub from which life might be touched at all points.”<sup>31</sup>

Halleck, Peachy, Billings and Park moved into offices on the third floor, and later Park and Shafter had four rooms in the Block which Charlie Lincoln described as “immense rooms about twenty feet high, gorgeously furnished with carpets and sofas of the costliest description, lighted with gas, etc.”<sup>32</sup>

For Trenor Park the completion of the Montgomery Block was evidence of his firm’s and, more particularly, his own accomplishments and talents. Indeed, although the building itself was primarily Henry Halleck’s dream, Charlie Lincoln in his letters to his sister writes of “his (Park’s) new building.” Park did have a one-quarter interest in the building, which he apparently received in exchange for the lease on the property. However, according to Park’s account book, Halleck eventually paid almost \$100,000 of the \$300,000 construction cost. Another \$100,000 was borrowed, and the three members of the firm paid the remaining \$100,000.<sup>33</sup>

In his last years in California, the man who had come from Vermont to make his fortune as a lawyer in the boom town of San Francisco, found that the real gold in California did indeed lie in the gold mines themselves. The Mariposa Estate, southeast of San Francisco, was located atop the mother lode, and the mines there, the Princeton, Josephine, Pine Tree, Mount Ophir, and the Mariposa mine itself were some of the richest in the world.

The estate was owned by General John Fremont, but by 1857, Trenor Park had certain rights to the land because of a \$65,000 mortgage which he held.<sup>34</sup> Over the next few years Park purchased other mort-

*The eldest daughter of Trenor Park, Eliza, remembered waiting "anxious hours" at home for her father's safe return after his life was threatened.*

gages and judgments (court rulings) against the estate, and by 1859 his interests in the property amounted to at least \$250,000.<sup>35</sup> The following year the Vermonter worked out an arrangement with General Fremont whereby Park himself, would take over management of the estate. He was to receive one-sixteenth ownership of the property in exchange for the five-percent commission to which he was entitled as estate manager.<sup>36</sup> However, it is also important to note that as a result of the mortgages and in consequence of the managerial contract, Park, after 1860, had sole legal control of the gold-rich Las Mariposas.<sup>37</sup>

The type of mining done at Las Mariposas was quartz mining. The simple placer mining done by the individuals with pans and other devices had already depleted much of the surface gold, and it was necessary to go deeper into the ground to obtain the quartz in which additional gold was embedded.

Quartz mining was capital intensive, and under Park's management there was a great deal of development. New shafts were sunk, and steam and water-powered mills were built to extract the gold from the quartz. Railroads, roads, blacksmith's shops, offices and a company store were constructed.

Although managerial problems at the mines were manifold, labor did not appear to be the most important of Park's worries. One of his assistants wrote in 1860 from Bear Valley that the yield was good, but to save expenses the wages of the "railroad boys" had been cut. "Three quit but their places were soon filled."<sup>38</sup> In 1862, the assistant at the Green Gulch Mill wrote that he was going to move the families out of the boarding houses because the men were spending too much time with the ladies.<sup>39</sup>

What Trenor Park lacked in managerial and mining background, he tried to make up for through financial and fund-raising skills. As manager he had either to advance money himself for the new con-



struction or raise it through loans based on his own credit. In fact, much of the development at Las Mariposas during the period was financed by both East and West Coast bankers. With San Francisco banker, John Parrott, Park had a \$100,000 line of credit.<sup>40</sup> When he overstepped the limit, he secured loans through Joseph Palmer and others to make up the difference.

The lawyer and investor now turned manager was optimistic in his handling of the operation. Perhaps from the standpoint of the other owners and investors, he was too optimistic. Frederick Billings, a Vermonter also, was a major investor in the estate, and he wrote to Park in 1861: "... the mills are not running as you said they would be. You know I insist upon it that you will get ahead of facts in your calculations."<sup>41</sup>

In January of 1862 a flood inundated the Mariposa Estate. Park wrote: "A part of the dam and the flume were carried off, which can probably be repaired for



*“I hope you can sleep nights, I know it is bad for you to have to depend on Laudanum for sleep”*

15 or \$20,000; our work nearly all stopped . . . The actual damages we have sustained by the flood including stoppage of work and repairs will probably exceed \$100,000.”<sup>42</sup>

But he remained optimistic as he continued in the same letter: “There has been no time since I have had the Estate when I was so well prepared for accidents of this kind as now. It makes me short of funds but will not embarrass me anything to speak of.”

It is questionable, however, just exactly how optimistic he remained that summer when there was a cave-in at one of the mines and a fire at the company store. Mrs. Park wrote to her husband that August: “I hope you can sleep nights, I know it is bad for you to have to depend on Laudanum for sleep.”<sup>43</sup>

It was clear by November of 1862 that the Mariposa Estate mines were in trouble. It is true that the yields in 1860 and 1861 averaged \$50,000 a month, considerably more than had been realized in previous years. However, income was just not covering expenses. Park was charged by his creditors and associates with wasteful and inefficient management. In 1862, after he had gone over his credit line once too often, John Parrott wrote to him: “. . . there was too much money spent on dead work and improvements which for the time might be dispensed with . . .”<sup>43</sup> Frederick Billings was even more critical: “Under Park’s management the Estate will never get out of trouble, in fact, it only gets deeper in.”<sup>45</sup>

In 1863, Trenor Park offered to give up possession of Las Mariposas if the accounts were cleared for \$1,400,000.<sup>46</sup> Undoubtedly, he would realize a good profit. In June of that year, a New York stock corporation was formed, the Mariposa Mining Company, and Park sold all of his interests in the estates to the company. The corporation was capitalized at \$10,000,000 based on the yields of 1860 and 1861.

Before his departure, the workers on the estate gave him a silver pitcher and salver of “chaste and

elegant design.” In his thank-you letter, Park indicated that in spite of the criticism by his associates and in spite of the economic realities at the estate, the venture at Las Mariposas had been a success in his eyes. He wrote:

The management of the Mariposa Estate was undertaken by me with much reluctance . . . I doubted my ability to administer it . . . That under my administration the vast mineral wealth and resources have been demonstrated . . . its permanent success fully established . . . with an ascertained wealth far beyond the most sanguine expectations, is I confess a matter of self-gratulation.<sup>47</sup>

In the course of his San Francisco career, Trenor Park demonstrated that he was an individual among individualists, and yet this characterization is perhaps an oversimplification, because it overlooks an important aspect of the man’s life — his family. With the exception of a period in 1858 when Laura Park remained in Vermont to bear her second daughter, Park’s wife and children were with him throughout his California years. Moreover, this small family created a home in San Francisco that was warm and welcoming. Both in their first small, rented house and in their later, more luxurious home on Tehama Street, Laura and Trenor Park established an ever-changing household that consisted of relatives and close friends from the East Coast.

In her memoir, Eliza Park describes the extended family with which they were surrounded in San Francisco. Besides Charlie Lincoln and Mrs. Park’s brother’s widow and new husband, the household came to include: “Calvin Park, a cousin of my Father’s . . . I used to cuddle up beside him and he would spin long yarns of travel that would go on from day to day. Then came my Aunt Anna and Uncle Austin, a boy some nineteen years of age, the youngest of the Park family.”<sup>48</sup> Oscar Lovell Shafter and his wife also lived with the Parks for a time.

At first this household must have served as a place



*Eliza Park (left) and Ella Nichols. Trenor Park later married Ella following the death of his wife in 1875.*



of retreat for newcomers in a new land. For after all, no matter how successful Park was, he and his relatives were immigrants. Their first years in the West must have been somewhat difficult and frightening. Laura Park wrote in 1855 to Charlie Lincoln: "Tonight Mr. Shafter, Train and I after dinner went into the kitchen to have a smoke — they use pipes lately . . . we talked of the hard times after we first arrived here, do you remember how we used to go into the pantry on Virginia Street and eat bread and molasses? Funny times weren't they?"<sup>49</sup>

Throughout his years in the West, Trenor Park must have looked to his California home as a place which preserved familiar aspects of his Vermont home — a refuge which stood apart from the fast-paced San Francisco society.

Descriptions of life at the Park house suggest that the atmosphere was informal, homey and jovial. Oscar Shafter wrote of a "capital" dinner at Mr. Park's; "Not a boiled dinner but the next to it in rank . . . not of the showy and ambitious type, but plain, substantial and homebred."<sup>50</sup> It is easy to imagine the conversation around the dinner table: news from home would be exchanged, stories told and jokes retold of the kind that only another Vermonter might understand. After the meal there would be singing 'round the piano, and the melodies would include those sung "in the dear land from which we came."

Indeed, the presence of so many friends and relatives from Vermont must have served to strengthen the ties which the family had with the East Coast. Economically, Trenor Park kept up the bonds with his New England homeland. In 1856 after being in California for only four years, his account book showed that he had already sent \$3,000 home.<sup>51</sup> In 1862 he was still sending weekly checks to his father.<sup>52</sup>

After the sale of Las Mariposas, Park and his family came back to the East. Trenor Park was a changed

man. From a small town lawyer, he had grown to be an important investor with aspirations that were national and international in scope. Many of his ventures in California, particularly the Mariposa investment, had been financed in the New York monetary market. In California he had made important East Coast connections, including Benjamin Wood, Alvin Adams and Adams' associate, William Dinsmore.

Thereafter, his Vermont home notwithstanding, the energetic investor and capitalist spent a great deal of the next eighteen years in New York City and far afield investing in gold and silver mines and other speculative ventures. Immediately after returning from the West Coast, he became involved in the formation of the Empire Gold & Silver Mining Company. By July of 1864 he was the largest investor in this company.<sup>53</sup>

In later years Park held a controlling interest in the Emma Mine in Utah (1871-1872). He invested in the Pacific Mail Steamship Line, for which he served as director (1875-1882). He bought a controlling interest in the Panama Railroad and served as president of this organization also (1875-1882). In 1881, the year before his death, he sold his shares in the Panama Railroad to the De Lesseps Panama Canal Company for \$7,000,000.<sup>54</sup>

Laura Park died in 1875. Seven years later, six months before his own death, Trenor Park married Ella C. Nichols. Ella was not a stranger to the Park family. The Nichols were Vermonters also, and they, like the Parks, had gone to California during the gold rush. The two families had become close friends, and Ella became a favorite friend of Eliza Parks. In fact, Ella became almost one of the family, and when the Parks returned to Vermont in 1864, Ella came with them. Ella later accompanied Eliza as a companion to Miss Ferry's Finishing School in New Haven, Connecticut. Early Park family photographs include young Ella Nichols, as do the house-

hold account books.

In 1872, Eliza Park (then Mrs. John G. McCullough) wrote to her mother in reference to Ella Nichols who seemed to eschew any beaux; “. . . there doesn’t seem to be a soul. I don’t think the girl will ever marry.”<sup>55</sup> It was three years later that Mrs. Park died and Ella went back to Vermont to assist the Park household and eventually to marry Trenor Park. Perhaps Ella’s own mother best expressed the irony of the situation: “. . . I used to say when she came home (as a little girl) ‘Ella Park, have you concluded to make a little visit?’ little thinking she would in truth bear that name.”<sup>56</sup>

Ella Nichols Park returned to California shortly after Trenor Park’s death and purchased the land in San Rafael on which she eventually built *Falkirk*. It is a curious coincidence that this house and Trenor Park’s home in Vermont have both survived into the present and both have become the focus for local preservation efforts. Their monumental structures are a lasting testimonial to the energy and optimism of those vigorous times.

Trenor Park died in September, 1882, aboard the *San Blas* en route to Panama. It is indeed a twist of fate that he died while following the same route which he had traveled thirty years earlier on his way to the western city which changed the course of his life.

All of the photographs are courtesy of The Park-McCullough House, North Bennington, Vermont.

## Notes

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2. Kevin Metigue Wright “1408 Mission Avenue” (unpublished paper, Fairfax, California, 1978) p. 2.
3. Letter of Charles Lincoln to his sister Helene, May 30, 1852, Park-McCullough House Archives, North Bennington, Vermont.
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5. Letter of Charles Lincoln to his sister Helene, April 30, 1852, Park-McCullough House Archives.
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8. Letter of Charles Lincoln to his sister Helene, May 29, 1852, Park-McCullough House Archives.
9. Eliza Hall Park McCullough, *Memory*, p. 32.
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12. *Ibid.*, November 19, 1855, p. 2.
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15. *Arguments of the Honorable Edward Stanley, of Counsel for the Receiver and T. W. Park, Esq., of Counsel for Alvin Adams . . .* (San Francisco: Whitton, Towne & Co., 1856), p. 50.
16. *Ibid.*
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18. *Ibid.*, March 22, 1856, p. 2.
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22. *Ibid.*, p. 291.
23. Flora Haines Loughhead, *Life, Diary and Letters of Oscar Lovell Shafter*, (San Francisco: Blair-Murdock, 1915), p. 185.
24. Letter of Oscar Lovell Shafter and others to Trenor W. Park, February 23, 1864, Park-McCullough House Archives.
25. Loughhead, *Shafter*, p. 102.
26. Lotchin, *San Francisco*, p. 62.
27. Letter of George C. Waller to Trenor W. Park, December 14, 1863, Park-McCullough House Archives.
28. Barrows, “American Chronicle,” p. 281.
29. Idwall Jones, *Ark of Empire* (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1951), p. 75.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 95.
31. *Ibid.*
32. Barrows, “American Chronicle,” p. 339.
33. Ledger of Trenor W. Park, 1853-1857, Park-McCullough House Archives, p. 29.
34. Mortgage to Trenor W. Park from John Charles Fremont, December 1857, Park-McCullough House Archives.
35. Barrows, “American Chronicle,” p. 371.



## Trenor Park

36. Agreement between Trenor W. Park and John Charles Fremont, June 14, 1860, Park-McCullough House Archives.
37. Contract between Trenor W. Park and Mariposa Mining Company, June 25, 1862, Park-McCullough House Archives.
38. Letter of James Selover to Trenor W. Park, December 2, 1860, Park-McCullough House Archives.
39. Letters of William Snediker to Trenor W. Park, January 23-June 28, 1862, Park-McCullough House Archives.
40. Letter of John Parrott to Trenor W. Park, April 1, 1863, Park-McCullough House Archives.
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45. Letter of Frederick Billings to John T. Doyle, November 29, 1862, Billings Family Papers, Woodstock Library, Woodstock, Vermont.
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48. Eliza Hall Park McCullough, *Memory*, p. 39.
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# Irish Republicanism

## California's Reaction to

During one evening in late May 1919, a tall, slender man, with a rigid, bespectacled face, stowed away aboard the ship "Ventura" off the coast of Ireland. On June 11 he reached his destination, New York City, and disembarked from the ship, unnoticed and without fanfare. Only a month after his arrival, he paraded down Market Street in San Francisco, lined with thousands of cheering spectators, waving the tri-color flag of the Irish Republic. Some of the spectators, however, jeered him and called him a traitor and a troublemaker. He experienced the same kind of response when he paid California another visit in November, stopping in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and San Diego. This conspicuous and unidentified traveler was Eamon De Valera, the president of the Irish Republic. His presence in California brought forth both the amity and hostility of the state's inhabitants and engendered a conflict between love for America and love for Irish freedom.

Before he set upon his journey to America, De Valera had participated in the Irish independence movement during World War I. He commanded a battalion of Irish Volunteers during the Easter Uprising in April 1916. With a force of 800, Patrick Pearse led the uprising against the British rule in Ireland. The revolt began when Pearse read the proclamation of the Irish Republic on the front steps of the Dublin post office. Centered in Dublin, the revolt only lasted a week. By that time, the British troops had overwhelmed the opposition and executed sixteen of the revolt's leaders. De Valera escaped execution because of his American citizenship (he was born in the United States) and, consequently, remained imprisoned.<sup>1</sup>

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# vs. “Pure Americanism”

## *Eamon De Valera's Visits*



In July 1917 David Lloyd George, the British Prime Minister, released De Valera and the other participants in the uprising as an act of reconciliation. De Valera then returned to Ireland and took over the leadership of the Irish independence movement, established around the country-wide Sinn Fein party. After the Sinn Fein election victory of 1918 in which seventy-three of its candidates were victorious, the party representatives decided not to take their proper places at the parliament in London. Instead they proclaimed and established an Irish Republic. They set up a constituent assembly called the Dail Eireann. As the governing body of the Irish Republic, the Dail Eireann elected Eamon De Valera as president. The British considered these actions treasonable policies against the crown. Thus the two and a half year conflict, better known as the Anglo-Irish war, began.

De Valera had failed to take an active role in these events leading up to the Anglo-Irish war. The English government had arrested him in October 1918 on suspicion of conspiring with the Germans. However, in February 1919, he managed to escape from the Lincoln jail in England and returned safely to Ireland. There he remained in hiding for four months as a fugitive from British justice and as president of a de facto government, trying to lead his country in war. De Valera finally became frustrated and disenchanted with his weak and ineffective position in hiding. He, therefore, decided to journey to the United States where he thought he could attain his two major objectives that would bring the conflict in Ireland to an end, the de jure recognition of the Irish Republic by the United States and the financial support to run his new republic through the organizing of an External Bond-loan.<sup>2</sup>

De Valera arrived in New York City on June 11. He was confident about his decision to come to the United States for the attainment of his goals. With the Great War at an end, the United States held a

*At a ceremony in San Francisco's Golden Gate Park on July 20, 1919, Eamon De Valera dedicated and unveiled a statue of Robert Emmet.*





*The St. Francis Hotel served as De Valera's temporary abode during his July 1919 stay in San Francisco. For a brief period the tri-color flag of the Irish Republic flew from the flagpole on top of the hotel.*

new, powerful position among the governments of the world. President Woodrow Wilson dominated the discussions at the Paris Peace conference with his League of Nations scheme. Surely U.S. recognition of the Irish Republic would have a favorable influence on the decisions of the other governments. Also Wilson's war aims, his famous Fourteen Points, included the self-determination for small nations. De Valera classified his cause of Irish freedom with this U.S. war aim of self-determination. Finally De Valera had a huge Irish-American community of four million to rely upon for both his recognition and financial bond campaigns. Besides the numbers, the Irish-Americans were well organized into two major national organizations, the Friends of Irish Freedom (FOIF) and the Ancient Order of Hibernians (AOH).

At first not certain as to exactly how the U.S. government would react to his unexpected visit (the U.S. was allied with England), De Valera assumed a low profile for the first twelve days of his visit. He then realized that the U.S. government would not

extradite him. The United States took this position primarily because De Valera was an American citizen and because the English government thought that the U.S. government should refrain from arresting him. By arresting him, the U.S. government would make De Valera a martyr, thereby strengthening his cause in the eyes of the world. As a result of this U.S. policy of restraint, De Valera made his first public appearance on June 23 in New York City. A week later he began his tour of the country to espouse his cause of U.S. recognition.<sup>3</sup>

De Valera included California on his first tour. The national AOH, during the twelve day interim period, had sent De Valera an invitation to attend and address its national convention. The convention was to be held between July 14-19 in San Francisco and attended by 1700 delegates. De Valera accepted this invitation enthusiastically. He discerned the convention as an excellent opportunity to voice his cause to a national forum.<sup>4</sup>

As De Valera campaigned his way across the coun-



try and drew closer to California, the Irish-American community prepared for his arrival. Father Peter Yorke, a Jesuit priest of San Francisco, who came from Ireland in the 1890s, was the leader of the Irish-American community. He edited the state's main Irish-American newspaper, *The Leader*, which he founded in 1903. He also headed the state's largest Irish-American organization, the Friends of Irish Freedom, which had a membership of approximately 50,000 and which he helped to establish during the days of the Easter Uprising in 1916. The Ancient Order of Hibernians, with a membership of 20,000, and the United Irish Societies of San Francisco (UIS of S.F.), representing over sixty Irish-American groups, assisted Father Yorke and the FOIF in organizing and leading the state's Irish-American community.<sup>5</sup>

On July 12, *The Leader* announced that in five days De Valera would be in San Francisco. The FOIF, AOH, and UIS of S.F. began to work meticulously and indefatigably to complete all the necessary preparations. They set up numerous committees and planned an entire agenda for De Valera's first visit to California. Andrew J. Gallagher, a San Francisco labor leader and Supervisor and Father Yorke's second lieutenant, headed and directed these preparation activities, and once De Valera arrived, he remained at his side, making sure everything went smoothly. Gallagher also acquired from Chief of Police Thomas White two body guards, detectives Dave Murphy and Martin Gallagher.<sup>6</sup>

After stops in such cities as Chicago, Omaha, Ogden, and Reno, De Valera arrived in San Francisco on July 18. "San Francisco Welcomes De Valera," read the headline of *The Leader*, placing directly below it a picture of the city's illustrious visitor. Mayor James Rolph, Jr., the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, as well as the 1700 delegates of the AOH convention officially greeted him. De Val-

era paraded down Market Street, filled to capacity on both sides with cheering onlookers. His car was pulled down the street by AOH delegates grasping ropes attached to it. The procession ended at De Valera's temporary abode, the St. Francis Hotel.<sup>7</sup>

During his three day visit, De Valera made at least a dozen speeches daily, received numerous awards and honorary degrees, and dedicated the Robert Emmet statue in Golden Gate Park. He attended the AOH convention at the Exposition Auditorium on July 19. The delegates had decided to use the phrase "Self-Determination for Ireland" as the convention's slogan. De Valera presented a long and forceful speech, defending the case for U.S. recognition of the Irish Republic. Father Augustine, the confessor of the executed Irishmen in the 1916 uprising, also spoke that evening. The delegates adjourned the convention by passing a resolution that asked for U.S. recognition of the Irish Republic, a cause they termed as one of Humanity's.<sup>8</sup>

De Valera, however, delivered his main address the day before, on July 18, at the Civic Auditorium to an enthusiastic crowd of 12,000. Throughout most of his speech, he stressed the importance of U.S. recognition. Recognition did not represent a victory for only Ireland but also one for the United States. President Wilson would achieve one of his war aims — to establish a lasting world peace — by granting recognition of the Irish Republic. The League of Nations would then be the organized moral force of the world. But for all this to take place, the League's searchlight of conscience must include the British Empire and the granting of Irish Independence. De Valera concluded by calling himself the president of the Irish Republic and stressing that its survival depended upon American public opinion and the U.S. government. By their approval, the Irish Republic would be given "de jure" status by the whole world.<sup>9</sup>

De Valera's first sojourn to California greatly im-

pressed the Irish-Americans. Father Yorke praised him in his paper's editorials, emphasizing that De Valera made a great sacrifice to undertake the 3000 mile long journey to San Francisco. It surely showed his appreciation for California's work for the Irish cause over the years. "He came, saw, and conquered the hearts and minds of San Franciscans," quoted the *San Francisco Monitor*, the major Catholic newspaper of northern California. In its editorial, the paper compared De Valera to St. Paul, a man who fought and suffered for justice's sake.<sup>10</sup>

De Valera also seemed to greatly galvanize the Irish-republican nationalism in California. By his presence and his speeches, he appeared to develop in Irish-Americans a visceral feeling of the immediacy and urgency of their cause. No longer did they feel like rational observers. "This is a critical time in the history of our race and calls for a lively interest on the part of every Hibernian," wrote P. T. Horan, treasurer of the AOH Division No. 1 in Los Angeles. He called his order's convention in San Francisco the greatest in its history. He also described how De Valera's address was received "with unabounded enthusiasm" and reported that De Valera's speech would be read at all the branches of the order in the Los Angeles area.<sup>11</sup> In sum, De Valera's visit was a great success except for "a few jaundiced individuals," according to the state's Irish-Americans.<sup>12</sup>

The Irish-Americans were referring to the Americans in San Francisco and elsewhere who did not look upon De Valera's visitation with great joy and expressed their discontent in many different ways. Henry A. Woodward of Hawaii wrote and addressed a letter to California Senator James Phelan, which the *Sacramento Bee* published in its editorial section. In the letter, Woodward stated that the United States had no right to interfere with the domestic affairs of another nation. During his visit, De Valera and his sympathizers only intended to stir up trouble with

"May God bless California and  
may God save Ireland!"

EAMON DE VALERA

America's loyal ally England. Woodward then asked some rhetorical questions. Would the United States allow Hawaii to ask for separation from the United States to join Japan, and further, then would the United States consider England friendly if it encouraged Hawaii to take such action? Was Lincoln wrong when he coerced the South to remain in the Union?<sup>13</sup>

Anonymous objectors also publicly brought charges against De Valera's visit in letters to the editors of their local newspapers. These anonymous objectors said that by his tour, De Valera was only trying to create hostility between the United States and England. According to them, Mayor James Rolph, Jr. and the San Francisco Board of Supervisors had no right to greet De Valera and endorse his cause. By doing this, these government officials used tax-payers' money and time not in the public's interest and without the consent of their constituency; moreover, such actions mixed domestic politics with foreign affairs.<sup>14</sup> Another expression of protest centered around the flying of the tri-color flag of the Irish Republic in San Francisco. Thomas Keating, manager of the St. Francis Hotel, removed the tri-color flag from the flag pole on top of his building. He did this because of the advice of a (quote) "government official," who said that the flag should not fly until the U.S. government officially recognized the Irish Republic.<sup>15</sup>

Despite these slight rumblings of protest, De Val-





*The leader of San Francisco's Irish community during the time of De Valera's visit was Father Peter Yorke, a Jesuit priest.*

era spoke these words in his farewell message on July 20: "I thank the people of California from the bottom of my heart . . . May God bless California and may God save Ireland!"<sup>16</sup> Overall he thought his first trip to California had "won countless friends for Ireland." De Valera was anxious to return to the east coast to clear up the last minute difficulties surrounding his 10 million dollar bond-loan drive. He intended to launch the drive in California as well as in the rest of the country on January 1, 1920. He had already appointed the American Commission on Irish Independence (AC on II) as sponsors of the drive and James O'Mara, a very adept Limerick businessman, as the drive's director.<sup>17</sup>

De Valera successfully overcame the drive's obstacles during his two month stay on the east coast. In order to circumvent the blue-sky laws — legislation

protecting people against fraudulent financial schemes — he decided to sell bond-certificates and not actual bonds. However, once the Irish Republic was recognized and the British were out of Ireland, the bond-certificates could be exchanged for gold bonds of the Irish Republic with five percent interest. De Valera next had to close the Irish Victory Fund, a funding drive started at the end of the Great War by the national FOIF to help finance Ireland's attempt to have her case presented at the Paris Peace Conference. De Valera effectively terminated the fund by August 1919.<sup>18</sup>

As a result of these amendments, De Valera began to tour the country again in October, but this time to prepare and organize each state for the launching of the bond-certificate drive in January. De Valera repeatedly elaborated on how the bond-monies would be spent to establish consular services to promote commerce and to develop Irish land and industries. By November 15, De Valera had reached Portland, Oregon. Expecting De Valera to arrive in San Francisco on November 17 for his two day stay, the FOIF, AOH, and UIS of S.F. worked together again under the leadership of Andrew J. Gallagher to take care of the necessary preparations. As before, when De Valera arrived, a huge crowd, which included mayor Rolph and the S.F. Board of Supervisors, greeted him. After the parade up Market Street, a group of De Valera's followers carried him into the Hotel Palace atop their shoulders.<sup>19</sup>

Unlike his previous visit, however, De Valera did not make many public appearances. Instead he occupied a large portion of his time with the setting up of the bond-certificate drive organization. He met several prospective bankers interested in handling the bond drive in California at several meetings arranged by the leadership of the FOIF. During these meetings, De Valera also instructed Father Yorke and others on how to establish a state branch of the AC





*An Irish tea vendor in San Francisco, c. 1915 displays his anti-British sentiment. Note the "Recognize The Irish Republic" sign above the doorway. California's largest Irish-American organization, the Friends of Irish Freedom, had a membership of approximately 50,000 when De Valera arrived.*



on II. He eventually selected the San Francisco Hibernian Savings, headed by E. J. and R. M. Tobin, to act as the treasurer of the drive. Father Yorke summed up this visit of De Valera's in his editorial, "His first visit was one of friendship but this one is one of business." He observed that De Valera was more serious-minded, like a professor expounding mathematical principles. De Valera's changed demeanor could probably also be attributed to the more widespread and intense opposition he faced during this, his second visit.<sup>20</sup>

A week before his arrival, De Valera, himself, was a hotly discussed issue among San Franciscans. Headed by Louis T. Grant, the American Legion Post of the San Francisco county, with a membership of 10,000, led the opposition. The Legion focused its protest on the flying of the tri-color flag during De Valera's upcoming visit. The "Legion Frowns on the Display of the Sinn Fein Flag," read the headline of the *San Francisco Examiner*. In the article, Grant stated that the American Legion did not oppose Irish freedom but greatly disapproved of the displaying of an unrecognized flag "on parity with our own" in the United States. They were not anti-Irish but one hundred percent American.<sup>21</sup>

The organization of American Free Press joined the American Legion in its protest of the displaying of the tri-color flag. The American Free Press expressed an isolationist tone in its protest. The spokesman for the group, J. Arthur Patterson, interpreted De Valera's visit as "A cold-blooded attempt to involve the city and nation with other countries." Such actions taken by foreign elements within the United States "threatened the pure spirit of Americanism."<sup>22</sup>

Irish-Americans were incensed by these bitter public protests. Judge Bernard Flood and Supervisor Andrew J. Gallagher responded to their opposition in the columns of the *San Francisco Chronicle*. They

noted that the voices of protest did not represent the entire membership of their organizations but only a minority. Already throughout the United States, the tri-color flag had flown without protest. Flood and Gallagher ended by emphatically stating that if any protestors interfered with the displaying of the flag, without the authorization of the U.S. government, they would be met by a "drastic opposition."<sup>23</sup>

As it turned out, the flag of the Irish Republic flew. In fact, during the greeting parade upon De Valera's arrival, two veterans of the First World War and members of the American Legion carried the stars and stripes beside the tri-color.<sup>24</sup> The protestors did not accept this stoically, however. The U.S. Attorney of San Francisco received several phone calls from people denouncing the flying of the flag. The San Francisco Business Council, headed by J. B. Rawlings, also sent a telegram to President Wilson:

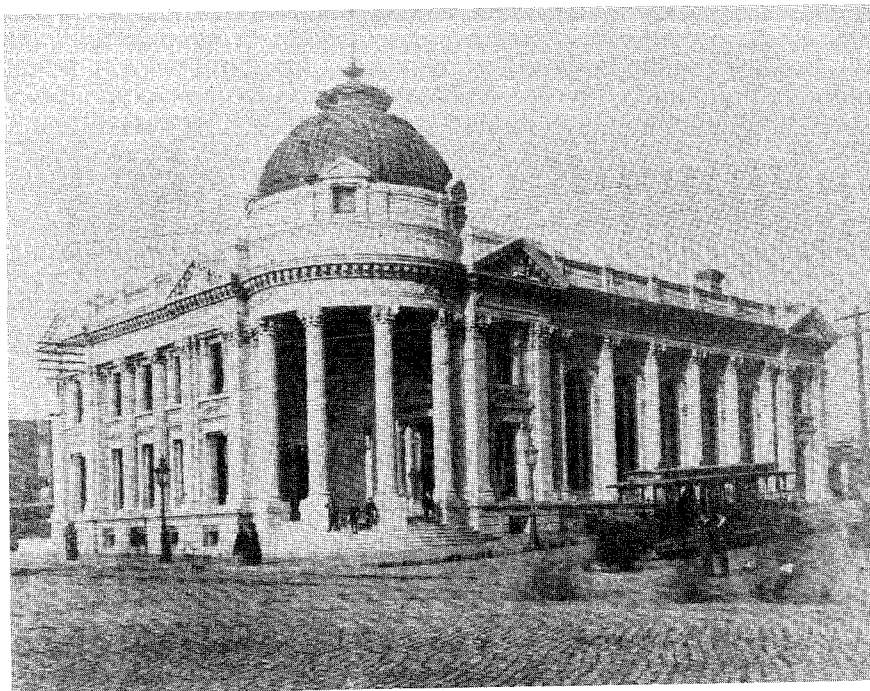
We believe that to suppress this (flying of the tri-color) would save bloodshed. We further feel that any citizen who feels that the American flag is not good enough to march under should be immediately deported.<sup>25</sup>

During his tumultuous visit, De Valera collapsed from fatigue. Although his doctors recommended a few days rest, he refused to follow their advice and boarded the train for Los Angeles.<sup>26</sup> De Valera enjoyed a pleasant respite with his unplanned train stop at the San Jose depot. A crowd of one hundred faithful followers welcomed De Valera. Barney J. Higgins, director of the reception committee, spoke graciously of De Valera in his introductory remarks, saying that San Jose approved of his work and assured him of their continued support. After being presented with a bouquet of flowers, De Valera thanked them for this unexpected reception; it gave him great encouragement about the success of his cause.<sup>27</sup>

De Valera departed San Jose not fully realizing that

his stop there was only a calm before the storm. As early as November 13, P. T. Horan wrote about the tentative schedule of De Valera's sojourn in Los Angeles and about the trouble that might break out because of "English Propaganda" that was trying to make his visit a "frost." Horan concluded that the trouble signified another attempt by the forces of British imperialism to prevent Southern California from hearing De Valera's truth concerning Ireland.<sup>28</sup> The *San Francisco Monitor* also commented immediately after De Valera's departure in the same kind of apprehensiveness as Horan. The paper warned the protestors in Los Angeles that they would be responsible for any disorder or activation of the "hoodlum elements" during De Valera's visit to Los Angeles. According to the *S.F. Monitor*, the protestors only wanted to foment social and religious bigotry.<sup>29</sup>

These accusations of foreboding ill-will about De Valera's visit to Los Angeles accurately depicted the tense atmosphere pervading the city during the week before his arrival. Open protests began as early as November 14. "Why is De Valera Coming Here!" ran the headline of the *Los Angeles Times*, which was followed by an article answering the question. De Valera, a fugitive from British justice, was coming to Los Angeles to cause trouble between the United States and England, one of the country's honorable allies. De Valera could be considered a traitor. During World War I, he sided with the enemy, Germany, and as Admiral William Sims has shown, De Valera was responsible for the war deaths of several U.S. sailors. To support De Valera and his cause and to welcome him courteously upon his arrival would be "an insult to the men who were in the service of the United States and . . . the cause for which they



*San Francisco's Hibernian Savings acted as the treasurer of De Valera's California bond-certificate drive organization.*



**"A Square Deal For Ireland"**

*The Los Angeles Evening Herald*

fought and died." The article concluded by listing the prominent personages and organizations of the area who criticized and refused to welcome De Valera. The Los Angeles Mayor Meredith P. Snyder, Attorney Oscar Lawlor, and Rt. Rev. Joseph H. Johnson decided not to partake in any of the activities surrounding the De Valera visit. The American Legion of Los Angeles and Pasadena, the Baptist Ministerial Conference of Los Angeles, and the Associated British Societies of Los Angeles also refused to greet the Irish visitor.<sup>30</sup>

Depending upon one's perspective, the *Los Angeles Times* held the prestigious or notorious position as the leader of De Valera's opposition. The *Times* had a strong tradition of a patriotic and anti-labor (Irish) stand, beginning with the paper's founder, Harrison Otis, a veteran of the Civil and Spanish-American wars. Living up to its conservative and nationalistic tradition, the *Times* was primarily responsible for creating the precarious and tense mood during the days prior to De Valera's visit. The most notable example concerned De Valera's confrontation with the American Legion in Portland prior to his stay in San Francisco.<sup>31</sup>

The American Legion post of Portland refused to allow the followers of De Valera to display the tri-color flag. Twice members of the organization tore off the flag from De Valera's automobile. The most volatile encounter during De Valera's ordeal in Portland occurred one morning as he exited the Portland

Hotel and prepared to enter his car for a tour of the city. The American Legion Headquarters resided on the same street as the Hotel, and that morning, several Legion members waited patiently outside for De Valera's exit. Seeing the tri-color flag attached to the automobile along side the American flag, the Legion members confronted De Valera as he approached the car and insisted that he remove the tri-color flag. An argument ensued, but De Valera reluctantly agreed to their unfair demand. During the sparring of words, the rage increased to such an extent that before De Valera could act on his concession, one of the Legion members violently tore off the flag.<sup>32</sup>

A crowd of some size had gathered while all of this was taking place. Dr. A. C. Smith, chairman of De Valera's reception committee, had also come out into the street. Now about thirty Legion members stood within the crowd, "howling down" Dr. Smith's attempt to speak to the crowd. Eventually De Valera and Dr. Smith gave up and returned to the hotel, after which the crowd dispersed.<sup>33</sup>

"Legion's Veterans Tear the Irish Flag From De Valera's Car" and "Only One Flag: The Motto Of Every True American," headlined the *Los Angeles Times*. In fact, the paper repeatedly reported on the trouble in Portland until De Valera arrived.<sup>34</sup> While being bombarded by these reports daily the Irish-Americans had a difficult and delicate task of arranging for De Valera's first visit to Los Angeles. They attributed the protests to English agents. The Los Angeles attorney Joseph Scott, the most respected Irish-American leader next to Father Yorke and the head of the Southern California branches of the FOIF, was the chairman of De Valera's reception committee. He expressed his anxiety about his difficult assignment: "We took no chance that De Valera might be picked up, whisked across the border, and returned to England for Hanging." Scott and his fellow Irish-Americans thought the British



Attorney Joseph Scott, a respected Irish-American leader, was the head of De Valera's Los Angeles reception committee.

had put "a price on De Valera's head."<sup>35</sup>

As a result of these suspicions, Scott carefully scheduled De Valera's activities during his stay in Los Angeles. On November 19, the day before De Valera's arrival, Scott and the FOIF had everything ready. They must have been also happy with the more sympathetic attitude of the *Los Angeles Evening Herald*. The paper published an advertisement of the FOIF that asked for "A Square Deal For Ireland." Centered with a picture of De Valera, the advertisement stated that Ireland was a nation in its own right and according to Wilson's principle of self-determination.<sup>36</sup>

Apprehension, the fear produced by not really knowing the outcome of an event, permeated all the groups and citizens of Los Angeles the day before De Valera's arrival. The next morning De Valera entered the city and stepped out of the train to be met by a large gathering of his faithful followers. The *Los Angeles Times* failed to place any restraints on its attacks. The paper called De Valera a fugitive president of a mystical republic. It stretched its statements to such a point that De Valera ended up being a "Red," a communist in disguise who should be de-

ported. De Valera was an Irish "Benedict Arnold." The last sentence of a particular editorial read: "The atmosphere is polluted by his presence."<sup>37</sup>

Despite the assault of words, all went well during De Valera's first day in Los Angeles, that is at least until the evening. That night, De Valera, Joseph Scott, and members of the FOIF went to the Shrine Auditorium for De Valera's oration. But to their shock and dismay, the doors were locked tight. John Byrne, Jr., the son of John Byrne, an officer of the FOIF of Los Angeles, vividly remembered standing in front of the locked doors. John, Jr. recalled very well how his father discussed this meeting, calling it the biggest event in the history of the Los Angeles Irish-American community.<sup>38</sup>

On the night of the meeting, John Jr. had left early with his father. As the two approached the Shrine Auditorium, they encountered a huge, uproarious crowd encircling the entrance on Jefferson Street. Entering the mass of people, they deduced from the yells the reasons for the cries of anger — the doors were shut tight, which surprised John Jr. and his father as well as everyone else there that evening. Joseph Scott then made his way to the front of the group, screaming for silence and order. The crowd at first ignored Scott's pleas for order: "It almost ended in a riot. They wanted to destroy the place." Nevertheless Scott finally gained control of the frenzied crowd, told them that the meeting had been changed to next week at the Washington Ball Park, and demanded that they disperse peacefully, which they did.<sup>39</sup>

The origins of this near riot began several weeks before. At that time, the FOIF sent a check for \$250 to the Shriners to rent the auditorium on November 20. The Shriners accepted the check and confirmed the date for the use of the hall. When the *Los Angeles Times* and other organizations started publicly expressing their disapproval of De Valera's visit,



George Fitch, the chairman of the board of the organization, decided to cancel the commitment to the FOIF and not rent them the hall. His defense for taking such action resembled the reasons why the *Times* did not want De Valera in Los Angeles. Fitch sent the letter of refusal to the FOIF a week before De Valera's arrival. Fitch explained that De Valera did not represent the majority of the Irish people and that the purpose of the meeting was not in agreement with the principles of pure Americanism. Scott, being an attorney, probably realized his organization's right to the use of the hall; so he refused to agree to their request. The next event to occur was the evening of the meeting in which the Shriners locked out the Irish-Americans.<sup>40</sup>

Since the Washington Ball Park meeting would not take place until November 24, Scott changed De Valera's itinerary. He took De Valera to San Diego during the brief interim. Although hoping for a more favorable welcome from the citizens of San Diego, Scott did not really know what to expect. His arrival in San Diego cleared up all of his doubts and hopes. San Diego gave De Valera an unfriendly greeting. Mayor Louis Wilde and the citizens of San Diego refused to welcome De Valera because he represented a threat to their principles of Americanism.<sup>41</sup>

The next week the De Valera group gathered at the Washington Ball Park. Despite all the verbal abuse and threats, the supporters of De Valera were not intimidated. They showed their determination and pride in their cause by showing up for De Valera's speech 10,000 strong. The speeches that evening expressed a new fighting spirit. Joseph Scott spoke first. Each sentence was filled with emotion and reflected the righteousness of his cause. Scott also frequently interjected attacks against the *Los Angeles Times*, calling its writers "journalistic anarchists!" Probably realizing that Scott said everything he could have, but only better, De Valera emphasized in his

speech the right of the Irish people to their own independent republic and avoided attacking his enemies. He concluded that recognition could only be obtained by the support of the United States — "the supreme moral court of the World."<sup>42</sup>

De Valera departed California after his speech at the Washington Ball Park. Overall his trip to California on this occasion was not fruitless despite his opponents. In both Los Angeles and San Francisco, he laid solid foundations for the upcoming bond-certificate drive, which would be very successful, with the Irish-Americans exceeding the state quota of one million dollars.<sup>43</sup> In addition, the extreme Americanism contained in the attacks of De Valera's opponents coalesced the Irish-Americans of California into a more cohesive unit, centered firmly around the cause of Irish freedom as never before in their history. Now the battleground was not across the Atlantic but in their own respective state. Recognition of the Irish Republic became the focal point of their activities. The battle for recognition also became the battle for a revengeful victory against the opposition that disgraced both their leader and cause. Horan revealed this new, firm conviction in one of his letters to John Byrne:

The closing of the Shrine doors was an humiliation. California was the only place on the continent that it happened to him. It was a disgrace and if the 13,000 in the crowd had been organized, it would not have happened. What are we going to do? It is simple, It is to organize, Organize! Organize!! If not, we will be the butt of every . . . pro-British society.<sup>44</sup>

Photographs appearing on pages 172-173, 177 and 180 are courtesy of the author. All others are from the CHS Library.

## Notes

1. For a biography of De Valera see Earl of Longford and Thomas O'Neill, *Eamon De Valera* (London, Hutchinson and Co., 1970); Also, for an excellent account of Irish history during this period see Robert Kee, *The Green Flag* (London: Wiedenfeld and Nicolson, 1972).
2. Eamon De Valera, *Ireland's Claim to the Government of the United States for Recognition* (Healy Collection: Hoover Institute at Stanford University, 1920).
3. There are many accounts of De Valera's tour of the U.S. However, while most emphasized his tour in the eastern part of the country, few mentioned his California visits: Sean Cronin, *The McGarrity Papers* (Ireland: Anvil Books, 1972), pp. 73-92; Katherine O'Doherty, *Assignment America: De Valera's Mission in the United States* (New York: De Tanko Publishers, 1957); Patrick MacCartan, *With De Valera in America* (New York: Brentano, 1932); Francis M. Carroll, *American Opinion and the Irish Question 1910-1923* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978) pp. 149-162.
4. *The Leader*, (Microfilm: UC Berkeley), July 12, 1919, p. 2; *San Francisco Monitor*, (Microfilm: SJSU), July 12, 1919, p. 1.
5. These are the two good biographies of Father Peter Yorke: James Walsh, *Ethnic Militancy: An Irish Catholic Prototype* (San Francisco: R&E Research Associates, Reprint 1972); Joseph Bruscher, *Consecrated Thunderbolt* (New Jersey: Joseph Wagner Publishers, 1973); *The Leader*, July 12, 1919, pp. 1-2 provided membership of Irish-American organizations.
6. *San Francisco Monitor*, July 12, 1919, p. 1. Headline of the paper read "S.F. Awaits President De Valera's visit," *The Leader*, July 28, 1919, p. 4: its editorial called him "The Greatest Irishman of Modern Times."
7. *The Leader*, July 19, 1919, p. 1; July 26, 1919, p. 1.
8. *Ibid.*, July 26, 1919, pp. 1, 4; Detailed account of De Valera's visit see James Walsh, "De Valera in the United States, 1919" *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia* (September to December 1926) 72: 92-105.
9. *The Leader*, July 26, 1919, pp. 1, 4.
10. *Ibid.*, July 19, 1919, p. 4; *S.F. Monitor*, July 26, 1919, p. 1 and July 12, 1919, p. 4.
11. P. T. Horan, Letter to John Byrne, July 1919 (John Byrne Collection: SJSU Archives): Box 1: Doc. No. A14.
12. *S.F. Monitor*, July 26, 1919, p. 4.
13. *Sacramento Bee*, (Microfilm: SJSU), July 16, 1919 p. 3: Phelan replied that Hawaii and Ireland were not the same. Hawaii was not oppressed like Ireland. Lincoln eradicated slavery which was precisely what the Irish were trying to do in Ireland. He ended: "No man is a true American who does not sympathize with the struggles of the weaker nations for justice and liberty."
14. *San Jose Mercury*, (Microfilm: SJSU), July 15, p. 1; July 18, 1919, p. 1; July 19, 1919, p. 6, Editorial "De Valera's Mission."
15. *Ibid.*, July 18, 1919, pp. 1, 3; The AOH sought unsuccessfully to find out who the unidentified government official was, despite Senator Phelan's assistance.
16. *The Leader*, July 26, 1919, p. 1.
17. O'Doherty, *Assignment in America*, gave the best account of the bond drive's intricacies. Also see Dorothy Marcadale, *The Irish Republic: A Documented Chronicle* (New York: Frair, Straus, and Grioux, 1965, pp. 309-315).
18. O'Doherty, *Assignment in America*, pp. 44-64.
19. *The Leader*, November 1, 1919, p. 1; November 15, 1919, p. 1; November 22, 1919, p. 1.
20. *Ibid.*, November 8, 1919, p. 4; November 22, 1919, p. 4; *San Jose Mercury*, November 19, 1919, pp. 1-2.
21. *San Francisco Chronicle*, (Microfilm: SJSU), November 17, 1919, pp. 1-2; Louis Grant, Letter to the Bank of Italy November 18, 1919 (San Francisco: Archives of the American Legion). Grant and his county post of the Legion probably acted without the approval of the California American Legion's state department. For at the American Legion's state convention in San Francisco, October 8-10, the delegates never discussed or passed a resolution concerning De Valera's visit in the U.S.: see American Legion of California, *Verbatim Proceedings of the 1st Annual State Convention in San Francisco 1919* (San Francisco: Archives of the American Legion). The Legion was just recently established: American Legion Post of San Francisco, *Two page Leaflet, 1919*, (San Francisco: Archives of the American Legion) Fred Smith, *The History of California's American Legion* (S.F.: Archives of American Legion, 1928); Raymond Moley, *The American Legion Story* (New York: Meredith Co., 1966).
22. *S.F. Chronicle*, November 17, 1919, pp. 1-2; Patterson was also a member of the American Legion.
23. *Ibid.*, November 17, 1919, pp. 1-2; *The Leader*, November 22, 1919 p. 1.
24. *The Leader*, November 22, 1919, p. 1; *S.F. Chronicle*, November 18, 1919, p. 3; *San Jose Mercury*, November 18, 1919, p. 1.
25. *S.F. Chronicle*, November 18, 1919, p. 3.
26. *Ibid.*, November 19, 1919, p. 3.
27. *San Jose Mercury*, November 19, 1919, p. 1.
28. P. T. Horan, Letter to John Byrne, November 18, 1919, John Byrne Collection, SJSU Archives: Box 1: Doc. No. A19.
29. *S.F. Monitor*, November 22, 1919, p. 7.
30. *Los Angeles Times*, (Microfilm: UCLA), November 14, 1919, p. 1; November 15, 1919, p. 1; November 16, 1919, p. 1.
31. William Bonelli, *Billion Dollar Blackjack: History of the L.A. Times* (Beverly Hills: Civic Research Press, 1954), pp. 1-23.



## Irish Republicanism

(Text presents a very biased and hostile account of the paper's history. Use carefully).

32. *L.A. Times*, November 15, 1919, pp. 1, 3; November 16, 1919, p. 1.
33. *Ibid.*, However, the American Legion members seemed to be acting on their own. The National American Legion officials denounced this incident in Portland and called it "an unauthorized act by individuals." The editorial of the Legion's national weekly was entitled, "A Mob is not the Legion." It claimed to have had nothing to do with the tearing down of the flag. *American Legion Weekly*, December, 26, 1919, (San Francisco: Archives of the American Legion), p. 12.
34. *L.A. Times*, November 15, 1919, pp. 1, 3; November 19, 1919, p. 1; November 20, 1919 p. 1; De Valera said in his luncheon speech at the Hotel Alexandria that the incident in Portland was trivial and that it was instigated by only a few Legion members.
35. Joseph Scott, "Joe Scott Story: As told to Edward Prendergast" *Los Angeles Evening Herald* April 28-June 4, 1952 (Microfilm: Bancroft Library at Berkeley).
36. P. T. Horan, Letter to John Byrne, November 13, 1919 Box 1: Doc. No. A19; Newspaper clipping of the *L.A. Evening Herald*, November 1919, Box 1: A20-A21a.
37. *L.A. Times*, November 21, 1921, p. 4; November 23, 1919, p. 1.
38. John Byrne, Jr., Interview, April 1979 (San Jose: personal possession).
39. *Ibid.*,; Also Scott, *Story to Prendergast*; Mary Kelly, Letter September 10, 1979 (San Jose: personal possession).
40. *L.A. Times*, November 19, 1919, p. 1; November 20, 1919, p. 1.
41. *Ibid.*, November 23, 1919, p. 5. Also President Edward Kelly of the American Legion of San Diego was forced to resign because he was a member of the FOIF reception committee for De Valera's visit.
42. *L.A. Times*, November 24, 1919, p. 4; Father Yorke was enraged by the closing of the auditorium; he entitled his editorial "First Class Propaganda."
43. O'Doherty, *Assignment America*, pp., 44, 64-77; *The Leader*, July 26, 1919, p. 1; De Valera mentioned his idea of the Bond drive at the AOH convention during his first visit in July.
44. P. T. Horan, Letter to John Byrne, November 1919 Box 1: Doc. No. A23.



# Pages from the Past—

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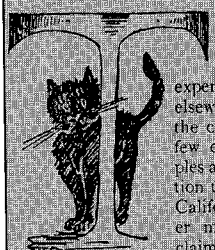
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O. H. McCONOUGH

## CHEAP LIVING IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA.



THE constant complaint that living is more expensive here than elsewhere has led to the consideration of a few economic principles and their application to family life in California. The writer makes a modest claim to some experience in household economy. He has been a cook, a sort of *chef* of his table, a lodger in a boarding house, a patron of restaurants, a boarder at hotels of fourth, third, second and first class, and a man of family. This experience has been obtained during a series of years in California, and it is the intention with this experience and considerable observation to refute the theory that the household expenses in California are greatly in excess of those in the East. In the first place we will consider keeping bachelor hall, or hiring a room and boarding yourself. A room can be obtained in the cheaper quarters of San Francisco, Los Angeles or San Diego at five dollars per month. A large loaf of bread can be purchased for ten cents or twelve tickets for one dollar, meat can be obtained at an average of eleven cents per pound, sugar at eight cents per pound. Vegetables at low prices, cabbage for instance, five cents per head, celery five cents per bunch, potatoes one and a quarter cents per pound. With these prices a man can obtain enough provisions for a week, for a few dollars and the expenses will be about as follows:

Room rent, per week	\$1.25
Bread	30
Meat	60
Vegetables	40
Groceries	50
Total	\$3.00

The reader will readily see that a single man can live by the above figures in either Los Angeles, San Francisco or San Diego, on the small sum of three dollars per week. He will have a comfortable room,

and for breakfast, eggs, coffee, bread and potatoes; for lunch, bread, tea, potatoes, cold meat or corn beef, etc.; for dinner, broiled steak, roasted potatoes, boiled apples, fried cabbage, coffee and other dishes, to suit his taste or fancy. Three dollars per week means twelve dollars per month, or one hundred and fifty dollars for one year, add fifty dollars for clothing and you have the necessary expenses of living in California on a system of boarding yourself reduced to two hundred dollars. To those who do not enjoy their own cooking, the system of renting a room and patronizing restaurants commends itself. A room can be obtained in nice clean lodging-houses at eight dollars per month in either of the cities mentioned, and meals can be obtained at all prices from five cents to five dollars. The economical man's expenses will average about as follows:

Room rent, per week	\$2.00
Breakfasts	1.05
Lunches	.70
Dinners	1.40
Total	\$5.15

The total expenses of five dollars and fifteen cents includes breakfasts at fifteen cents, lunches ten cents and dinners at twenty cents. A young man should calculate on being invited out occasionally to dinner, which will enable him to double on his next meal. We herewith attach an average bill of fare and present prices of the good all-around restaurants and lunch counters:

Soups	5 cents
Coffee or tea	5 cents
Bowl of milk and milk	10 cents
Plain steak (potatoes included, also bread and butter)	10 cents
Tenderloin steak	30 cents
Chops	10 cents
Steaks	10 cents
Porter	10 cents
Pies	5 cents
Coffee and any kinds of cake or pie	10 cents

There are of course many items not included in the above, but those accustomed to patronizing these restaurants will

## Cheap Living in Southern California



recognize the bill of fare without any accusing conscience of an over-loaded stomach. The restaurants where such prices prevail are usually kept clean, and are presided over by a woman or man who is not overly strong. These restaurants are patronized by both men and women, young men and ladies. A young man's expenses in California are about as follows, provided he is economical:

Room rent.....	\$ 96 00
Board.....	156 00
Two everyday suits.....	50 00
One Sunday suit.....	20 00
Four suits of underwear.....	8 00
Ten pairs of socks.....	2 50
One unmentionable.....	5 00
Other wearing apparel.....	10 00
Incidentals.....	25 00
Total.....	\$352 50

Hotel living is also reasonable in California, a good room can be obtained at the Palace for two dollars per day, and room and board at leading first-class hotels for two to three dollars per day. Second-class hotels furnish room and board at from one to two dollars per day. There is no reasonable excuse for the charge that living is more expensive here than in the East. A hundred illustrations can be made to show the contrary. There are of course no cheap country hotels and family boarding houses to compare with the four dollar per week family boarding house of the Eastern and Middle States. In the matter of housekeeping the claim can be maintained that living is reasonably cheap. However it may as well be acknowledged now that people in California do not keep house cheaply, they are extravagant in the largest sense of the term. Not long ago it was the writer's privilege to examine a young woman's trunk, and here is what was found:

One silk dress.....	\$ 40 00
One woollen goods dress.....	20 00
One corduroy dress.....	10 00
A wrapper.....	4 50
Two corsets.....	3 00
One doz hose, clean and unwashed.....	7 50
Four shrouds.....	4 00
Two pair gaiters.....	8 50
Slippers.....	2 50
Cuffs and collars.....	1 50

Pocket book.....	1 75
Four handkerchiefs.....	3 75
Silk mitts.....	1 25
Two pair kid gloves.....	3 00
Fan.....	2 00
Hair brush and comb.....	3 00
Six bottles of perfumery.....	3 00
Hand mirror.....	1 50
Twilled silk parasol.....	3 25
Double fancy hair net.....	10 00
Four lots of ribbon.....	3 40
Box chocolate candy.....	25 00
Hair pins.....	10 00
Corset laces.....	06 00
Silk garter.....	25 00
Muslin gown.....	1 00
Muslin skirts.....	3 00
Bustle.....	75 00
Jewelry.....	100 00
Three hats.....	30 00
Etc., etc.....	10 00
Total.....	\$272 91

There may be a few misnomers and some mistakes as to the prices, but it will readily be seen that there were a great many non-essential articles in the trunk. Both women and men become extravagant, and then claim that living is more expensive in California than in the East. Here is the record of a family of five that kept house on the economical Eastern plan. The family consisted of a man and wife and three children aged six, eight and twelve. They found a house of four rooms for rent in a respectable neighborhood at fifteen dollars per month, water two dollars and twenty-five cents extra. They sold their furniture in the East, and with the two hundred dollars thus obtained were enabled to furnish the house with everything that was absolutely necessary. For example, the carpet cost sixty cents per yard, nice ingram carpet, stove \$12.00, an antique, imitation oak bed room set \$24, a bed lounge \$15, and other things in proportion. They did not complain because they could not get a genuine antique oak bed-room set for the price of an imitation set East, like so many Eastern people are inclined to do. Well, after furnishing, the man applied for a position as a track hand on the railroad, and got it. The wages were two dollars per day. He had been accustomed to \$1.50 per day on Eastern roads. He did not

complain, but was glad of the opportunity. At the end of the month he had worked twenty-six days, and received fifty-two dollars. With this money he paid rent, \$14; water bill, \$2; groceries, \$13; meat, \$6; vegetables, \$3; coal, \$2; clothing, \$5; incidentals, \$2. Total, \$47, which represented a saving of \$5 per month. He had saved \$200 in the East, and with this money he purchased a cheap resident lot, and invested his five dollars in a building association. The climate was so perfect and his health so good that at the end of three months he secured a loan of \$600 on his building shares, and erected a nice four-room cottage, and now saves his rent each month, less the sum of eight dollars which he pays to the association. His lot is constantly increasing in value; his children are growing up around him; his wife is happy and contented, while he goes to his daily toil satisfied that two dollars per day in Southern California is better than one dollar and a half in the land of cheap living. If you desire to live cheaply in San Diego or Los Angeles, you can do so. If you want to live expensively, opportunities are likewise afforded. Let us take as a further illustration the prices of fruits:

Oranges.....	15 to 25 cents per doz.
Strawberries.....	Two boxes for 25 cents.
Blackberries.....	" " " " "
Raspberries.....	" " " " "
Grapes.....	3 cents per pound.
Watermelons.....	10 to 25 cents.
Muskmelons.....	" " " " "
Guavas.....	15 cents per box.

Bananas.....	30 cents per dozen.
Apples.....	" " " " "
Prunes.....	" " " " "
Pears.....	3 to 10 cents per pound,
Plums.....	according to the season.
Persimmons.....	" " " " "
Apricots.....	" " " " "

Add to this the great advantage that each year brings fruit, vegetables and productions of all kinds cheaper. The next ten years will see such reductions in living expenses in Southern California that a small income will enable a family to afford the daintiest luxuries. The great beauty of this country is in its developing power. The brown hills and parched valleys changed to blossoming hillsides and fertile dales are certain in their effect and results. The consciousness of being a pioneer, an observer of this constant and increasing force of development, is worth all the luxuries of the Atlantic shores. Who would not rather be poor in California than rich in the East? Ah, but there is no poverty here, no poverty of climate, no pauperism of growth, no starving of sunshine, no monopoly of sea or bay or mountains. Every inhabitant is rich in these things. While it is well to be economical in such vulgar things as meat, drink, clothing and such like, yet all can be extravagant in the use of sun, of sea, of bay, of mountain, of air, of flowers and of God's eternal goodness. Dwellers along the shores of the ever singing seas of the Pacific.

HARR WAGNER.

### BY THE CHRISTMAS SEA.

Came a ripple, then a splash,  
Then a whisper, then a dash,  
And the great white wave rolled in;  
Rolled in from the sea,  
The Christmas sea,  
And poured out its gift of melody,  
Soft murmurings and thundering din  
Not a pebble, not a shell,  
Only song and sea weed smell,  
With her words crept out a smile,  
A smile like the sea,  
The Christmas sea,  
Rippling and bubbling its joy to me,  
And shining with the sweetness the while.

First a ripple, then a pout,  
Then a dimple, then a shout  
Of laughter, merry and long,  
Why the dear old sea,  
The Christmas sea,  
Had nothing better to give to me  
Than itself, and the sweet old song  
Just a tremble, then a thrill,  
Then "I won't," and then "I will,"  
Then the words I kept so long—  
By the dear old sea,  
The Christmas sea;  
I've nothing other to give thee  
Than myself and the sweet old song.

ALTHEA WHITNEY.



## REVIEWS

W. Michael Mathes, *Reviews Editor*

### The Kemble Collections

Tucked away on the top floor of the Schubert Hall Library of the California Historical Society are the Edward C. Kemble Collections on Western Printing and Publishing. The late George Laban Harding, who gave the Society most of the materials that comprise the collections, insisted on the plural designation because the Kemble is actually four collections housed together: the typographical library of William Edward Loy (1847-1906), a Northern California printer who became active in the printing equipment and type business in San Francisco — Loy is sometimes called the “Hubert Howe Bancroft of Western Printing History” because of his inclination to collect and preserve every scrap of material that fell within his frame of interest; the archives of the notable printing firm of Taylor & Taylor, which operated in San Francisco under several names between 1896 and 1961; the typographical and printing trade periodicals collection of Haywood H. Hunt (1888-1974), a distinguished printer and designer in San Francisco during five decades of the twentieth century; and finally the printing and publishing library of Mr. Harding himself, who, until his death in 1976, was Honorary Curator of the collections.

The Kemble Collections are named in honor of Edward Cleveland Kemble (1828-1886), one of three founders of the *Alta California* newspaper in San Francisco, and the founder of Sacramento's first newspaper, the *Placer Times*. In 1858 Kemble published in the *Sacramento Daily Union*, “A History of California Newspapers,” the earliest attempt to chronicle printing history in the West on any significant scale. The Collections thus honor Kemble's pioneering efforts.

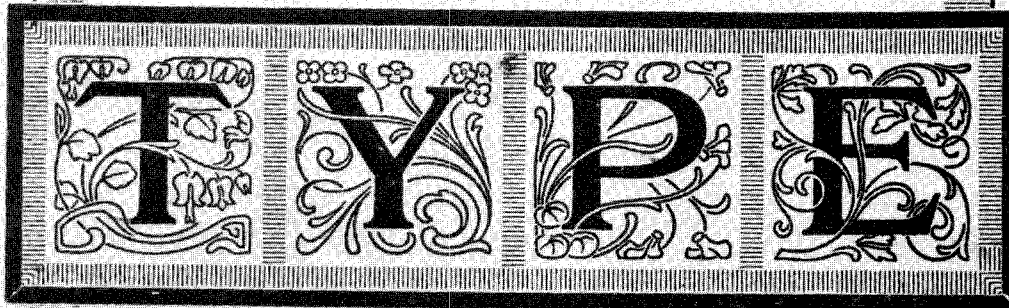
Until 1976 the story of the Kemble can be told largely through the activities of George Harding. A native of Indiana, Harding attended the Graduate

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Bruce L. Johnson is CHS Library Director and Kemble Collections Curator.



EXPLANATION  
OF THE  
POINT SYSTEM  
OF PRINTING



WITH  
SPECIMENS  
IN THE OFFICE OF THE ISLAND CITY  
PRESS  
ALAMEDA, CALIFORNIA

OVERLEAF: Cover title of *Hawk's Explanation*, which was produced as a birthday present to his friends in an edition of 500 copies. Only one known copy exists.

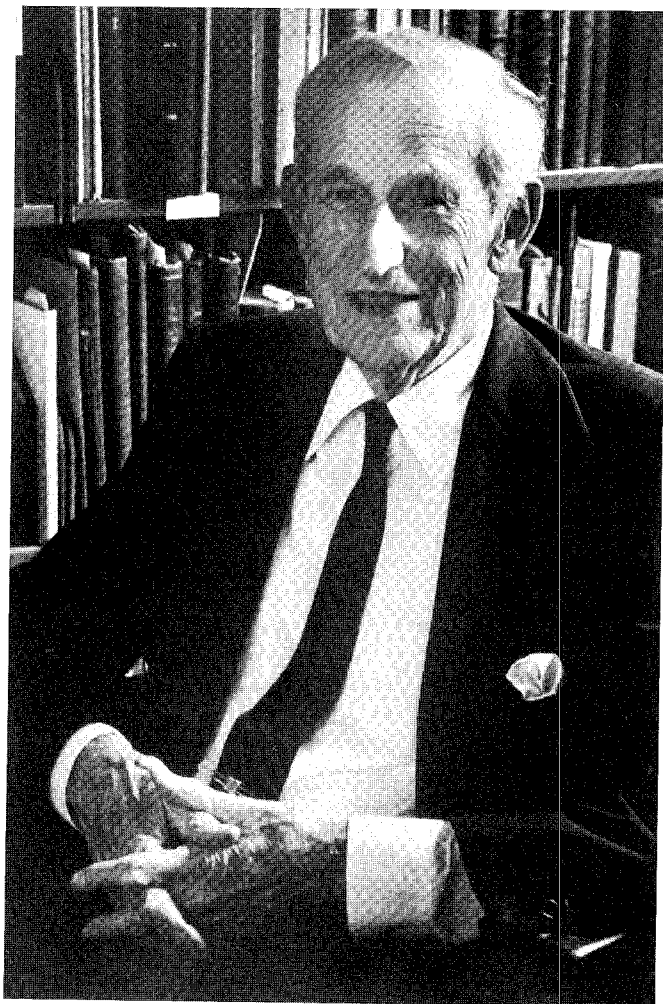
School of Business Administration at Harvard University. There he came under the guiding influence of several notable typographical authorities, such as William Addison Dwiggins, Daniel Berkeley Updike, and C. Chester Lane. It was at this time that he began assembling his outstanding collection of materials related to typography. Although Harding never realized his intention to enter the printing business, until his retirement in 1958 he managed to pursue both his avid interest in the history of printing and a career with Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Company. After his retirement and during the remaining eighteen years of his life, the development of the Kemble Collections consumed Harding's attention.

The Collections that George Harding donated to the Society during the early 1960s consist of more than 3,500 volumes of published material, extensive pamphlet and ephemeral material, files of more than 300 periodicals, and significant manuscript holdings, all pertaining to printing, publishing, and ancillary activities, with particular emphasis on California and the West. Many materials that today are part of the Kemble were gathered by Mr. Harding in the course of research for several important publications, including *A Census of California Spanish Imprints, 1833-1845* (1933); *Don Agustin V. Zamorano, Statesman, Soldier, Craftsman and California's First Printer* (1934); *George Prescott Vance, 1851-1936* (1937); and *Charles A. Murdock, Printer and Citizen of San Francisco: An Appraisal* (1973). It seemed ironic to Mr. Harding that whereas the records of banking, lumber, and shipping industries, the motion picture industry, the petroleum industry, and many other businesses and corporations are collected and preserved, the industry that records the deeds and chronicles the history of all others — i.e., the printing industry — should not have a library devoted to its own history. The Kemble Collections were formed and developed by George Harding to help fill the void.

Accounting records of early California businesses, including printers, are among the most revealing of sources, as are also business correspondence and personal journals. Manuscript materials in the Kemble include the first account book of the *Alta California* newspaper for 1849-1850; the 1857-1859 accounts of the noted San Francisco printing firm of O'Meara & Painter; and the accounts of the San Francisco type foundry of Andrew Foreman & Son, 1893-1906. The *Alta California* account book was discovered in a rummage shop in Oakland in 1940 — its pages had been pasted over with newspaper clippings. This priceless California printing incunabulum was purchased for 50¢, was restored by a highly competent bookbinder, and was later acquired by Mr. Harding. Another unique resource is the journal of Nelson Crocker Hawks, inventor of the American Point System for the measurement of the body size of printing type, covering more than forty years between 1855 and 1896. The Kemble was recently fortunate to acquire what seems to be a unique copy of Hawks's *Explanation of the Point System of Printing Type, with Specimens* (Alameda, 1918). In this rare pamphlet, printed in his declining years, Hawks makes his own claim to be the inventor of the American Point System, which he says "dates back to 1878, originating in the Pacific Type Foundry, San Francisco."

Fifty-three volumes of the records of Blake, Moffitt & Towne, 1868-1893, paper merchants for many printers of the Pacific Coast, are another important manuscript source. These materials are complemented by the manuscript letter books of the printing and publishing firms of Whitton, Towne & Company, and Towne & Bacon, for the years 1856 through 1868. The Kemble Collections also include the diary of San Francisco bookseller, Epes Ellery; twenty boxes of manuscripts and forty-nine volumes of newspaper clippings assembled by Jerome Alfred Hart (1854-1937), editor of *The Argonaut* in San Fran-





*George Harding, past president of the California Historical Society, donated the bulk of the Kemble Collections to the CHS Library in the early 1960s.*

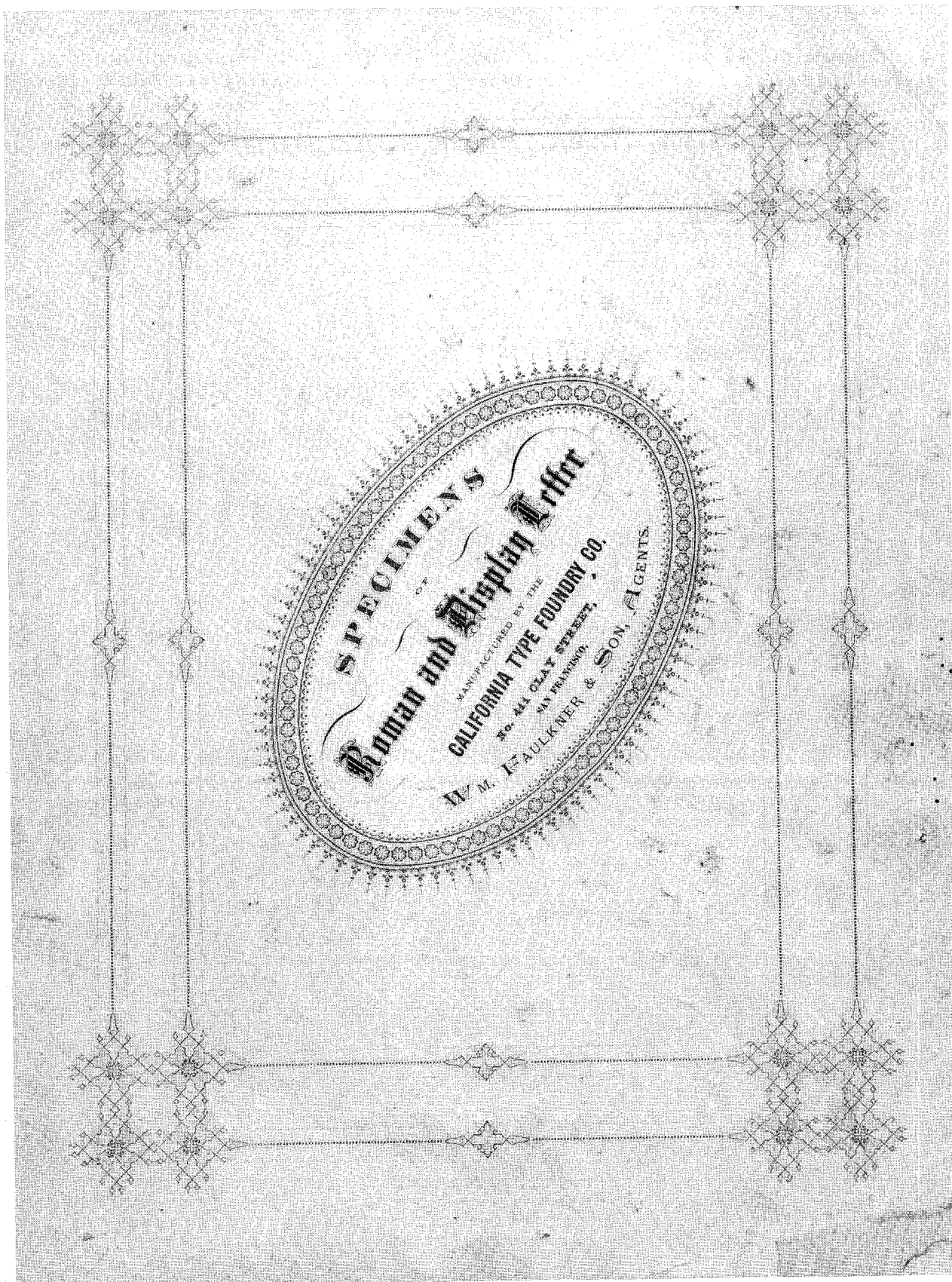
cisco; the George L. Harding (1893-1976) Papers; the Haywood H. Hunt (1888-1974) Papers; and the recently deposited collection of manuscript materials (twenty-five transfer boxes) from the files of American West Publishing Company.

Specimen books of type faces are issued both by type foundries and by printers to exhibit the range of styles and sizes available from a particular company. Those books from foundries are more significant perhaps, and the Kemble houses the third largest collection in the country ranging from the early nineteenth century to the present. Specimen books from California firms — Faulkner & Son, Painter & Company, Palmer & Rey, and Pacific Type Foundry — are generously represented. One notable gem is the second specimen book issued about 1868 by the California Type Foundry of William Faulkner & Son; the Kemble holds two copies (one is complete, the other is missing the front cover) that are apparently

unique, as no others have ever been reported.

One aspect of the Library of the California Historical Society that makes it particularly useful to researchers is a remarkable card catalog which provides that odd bit of information or hidden citation to an obscure periodical article — information or citations that would have been forever lost but for the indexing efforts of dedicated volunteers and staff members. The card catalog of the Kemble exhibits the same style of usefulness. Nearly 250 periodicals and serial titles are held by the Kemble — *The Colophon*, *The Fleuron*, *The Inland Printer*, *Pacific Printer & Publisher*, *Western Printer & Lithographer*, etc. — and most of these have been indexed and citations have been included in the card catalog. Information that most likely would have been locked away in the pages of an inaccessible periodical is suddenly available to any researcher. On one recent occasion the Curator of the Kemble received a call from London requesting that a certain name be checked in Kemble's "remarkable card catalog;" five useful entries were located.

The Taylor & Taylor Archives form a particularly important part of the Kemble Collections. A gift to the Kemble and the Society by James Welsh Elliott (1904-1977), last president of the company, the files of this great San Francisco printing house are perhaps unique in the United States; only the Platin-Moretus Museum in Antwerp contains as complete an archives of a printing office. The archives consist of more than four hundred fifty filing boxes of work dockets, job tickets, estimates, correspondence, and specimens of folders, pamphlets, brochures, and broadsides for the years 1906-1961. Included are printers' copies of the hundreds of books, pamphlets, periodicals and ephemera designed and printed by the firm. The Taylor & Taylor Archives afford a unique opportunity to view the inner workings of an important California printing firm in the period before offset lithography invaded the traditional preserves of letterpress printing.



Cover title of the California Type Foundry Company's second specimen book, the earliest known specimen book of a Western type Foundry. No known copy of the company's first specimen book survives.



*James Welsh Elliott presented the Kemble Collections with the Taylor & Taylor Archives. The Files of this great printing house are perhaps unique in the United States.*

Besides the book, periodical, and manuscript collections, the Kemble houses a vast collection of ephemeral materials issued by and about printers and publishers, and the people and organizations that serve them. Filling more than forty large file drawers and one hundred fifty boxes, this collection contains examples of job printing, informative letters on and samples of embossing, much biographical material, booksellers' catalogs and labels, bookplates, exemplars of the work of many handpress printers and a large collection of broadsides printed by John Henry Nash. There is also a growing collection of printing-related photographs, which was recently augmented by the acquisition of a collection of more than 2,200 photographs of personalities important in the history of Western printing, lithography, and bookbinding.

*The Kemble Occasional*, a mini-journal and newsletter, is issued by subscription three times a year. It has included in its pages research on early printing journals, news of events in the printing and collecting fields that affect the Collections, and memorial articles. The Collections are open Wednesday through Friday, between 10:00 a.m. and 4:00 p.m. and at other times by appointment.

Given the fact that the core collections of the California Historical Society Library were formed originally as the private collections of persons intimately involved with the Society — C. Templeton Crocker, Henry Wagner, etc. — it is most fitting that the Kemble Collections should also have been the gift of George L. Harding, a former president of the Society. Since Mr. Harding's passing five years ago, Mrs. Dorothea Huggins Harding has acted as patron of the Kemble in the manner established by her husband. Her efforts and contributions have helped assure the continued development of the Kemble Collections, and have culminated more than half a century of dedication to the California Historical Society and its libraries. Additional support is given by the Friends of the Kemble Collections, a group of in-



terested persons formed two years ago for that purpose.

The Collections may be named in honor of California's first historian of printing, but they stand as a monument to George L. Harding, Past President, Patron, and Fellow of the California Historical Society, whose many and substantial contributions carry a value that cannot be measured in mere dollars.

The photographs are from the CHS Library

# Book Reviews

## *Missions.*

Photographs by Stanley Truman. Text by W. Michael Mathes (San Francisco & Los Angeles: California Historical Society, 1980. 96 pp. \$35.00).

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*Reviewed by Fr. Lino Gómez Canedo, Resident Member of the Academy of American Franciscan History and author of several books on the American Franciscan Missions.*

This is certainly not the first time that the missions of California are presented through photographs, rather, perhaps they are the most photographed monuments and landscapes of all the Americas. California has had the good fortune of having, for nearly a century, generous and understanding persons who, with exemplary dedication, have labored to save the relics of her past. Nevertheless, it would be difficult to find something comparable to the work of Dr. Truman as revealed in this book. His unique sensibility has enabled him to see and capture that which is hidden beneath the surface; his art enhances everything it touches and gives feeling and value to that which, at first glance, appears insignificant. The simple beauty of Santa Inés, the enchantment of San Miguel with its bell tower and fountain, the arches of San Antonio, the countryside of Carmel, the tower of San Carlos — all are a delight to the eyes and the mind.

These photographs also constitute a valuable complement to historical documents, and at the same time are a beautiful source of knowledge for the future. They help us to understand what these institutions and monuments were, and will help future generations understand what they are now and the love expressed in their preservation.

Dr. Mathes, for his part, introduces with knowledge, style and understanding, the history of the missionary enterprise in California. In depth he depicts the historical scene of sacrifices, labors, perseverance, successes and failures, through which Alta California was born, grew and died during the Hispanic period. Beginning with reference to Spanish institutions transferred to the New World, he explains what the mission was. The missions of Alta California began in Baja California where the Jesuits, in an unfavorable geographic and human environment, were able to establish seventeen missions during a period of seventy years (1697-1767). More fortunate, the Franciscans founded eighteen missions in Alta California during a period of only twenty-nine years (1769-1799), and three

more up to 1823 during the years in which political events, wars, interests of landowners and sectarian or over-idealistic reformers, began the ruin of the entire missionary enterprise.

This is a beautiful book in which everything reflects maximum care: the texts, photographs, printing, and binding. A precious production for which thanks must be given to the California Historical Society.

## *Literary San Francisco; a Pictorial History from Its Beginnings to the Present Day.*

By Lawrence Ferlinghetti and Nancy J. Peters (San Francisco: City Lights Books and Harper & Row, 1980. xi, 254 pp. \$15.95.)

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*Reviewed by David Derus, Professor of English, University of San Francisco.*

This extensive collection of photographs with its accompanying text makes a claim upon the reader as the first literary history of San Francisco. It is "an eccentric shot at it," confesses Lawrence Ferlinghetti, one of its co-authors, "full of our own predilections and prejudices." The disclaimer understates the case, particularly for the Ferlinghetti text, the years from 1910 to the present. There is a great mass of literature to be surveyed and the problem of selection is enormous. The author solves it by the application everywhere of a vague romantic radicalism and anti-intellectualism, which quite submerge any discussion of the literature as such. The historical narrative itself lacks continuity and transition, often leaving the reader lost in a parenthesis or high and dry among the pictures.

Even the geography is a little strange. Rabindranath Tagore occupies a page and a half, apparently on the basis of a single lecture given in the city. Kathleen Norris gets a paragraph, although millions of Americans got their image of the Bay area from her popular romances. Dylan Thomas's visits rate three pages; the quieter works of a George Oppen or a George Hitchcock barely get them their picture in. Fiction writers seem of little interest to Ferlinghetti, unless they are Third World or Dashiell Hammett. They do not hang out together, hence create no "happenings." The local media is berated for ignoring the likes of Mark Harris, Leo Litvak, Tillie Olsen, Alice



Adams, Ella Lefland, and Maxine Hong Kingston. In vain do we look for so much as a snapshot of them in *Literary San Francisco*!

Ferlinghetti's achievements as a poet and avant-garde publisher are substantial; as a prose stylist they are more doubtful. This passage on Robinson Jeffers is typical: "Today Jeffers is more of a monument of stone than he is a popular poet. His final 'disgust with the human species in toto' (as Alfred Kazin said in *On Native Grounds*) hardly turned on new generations kicking over the traces of the eternal guilt-trip laid on the world by Christian dogma. ('Jesus died for your sins.' But so did Janis Joplin.)" (p. 140).

Nancy J. Peters, who is co-director and editor of City Lights Books, provides the text and photos up to 1910. Although her angle of vision on literature is roughly similar to Ferlinghetti's, she writes with a lighter touch and manages to keep good proportion within a large body of material. She has a good ear for the interesting anecdote, the personal recollection, or a line or two of old poetry. Picture and text work together, even where they seem remote from imaginative literature. Ms. Peters acknowledges her debt especially to the archives of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley and the cooperation of Professor James D. Hart. The book as a whole would certainly have gained in unity and substance had she also written the modern period, using the City Lights poet as a valued resource person.

*San Diego: California's Cornerstone.*

By Iris H. W. Engstrand. (Tulsa, Oklahoma: Continental Heritage Press, 1980. 224 pp. \$24.95).

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*Reviewed by Ray Brandes, Dean of Graduate Studies and Professor of History, University of San Diego.*

Continental Heritage Press' latest history in their series on American cities is a handsome contribution to a city as rich in history as any in this nation. The work reflects the creativity and dynamism of Dr. Engstrand, Chairman and Professor, Department of History, University of San Diego, and represents a showcase for part of the superb photograph collection of the Title Insurance/San Diego Historical Society collections gathered by Larry and Jane Booth. Thomas L. Scharf served as historic photo editor.

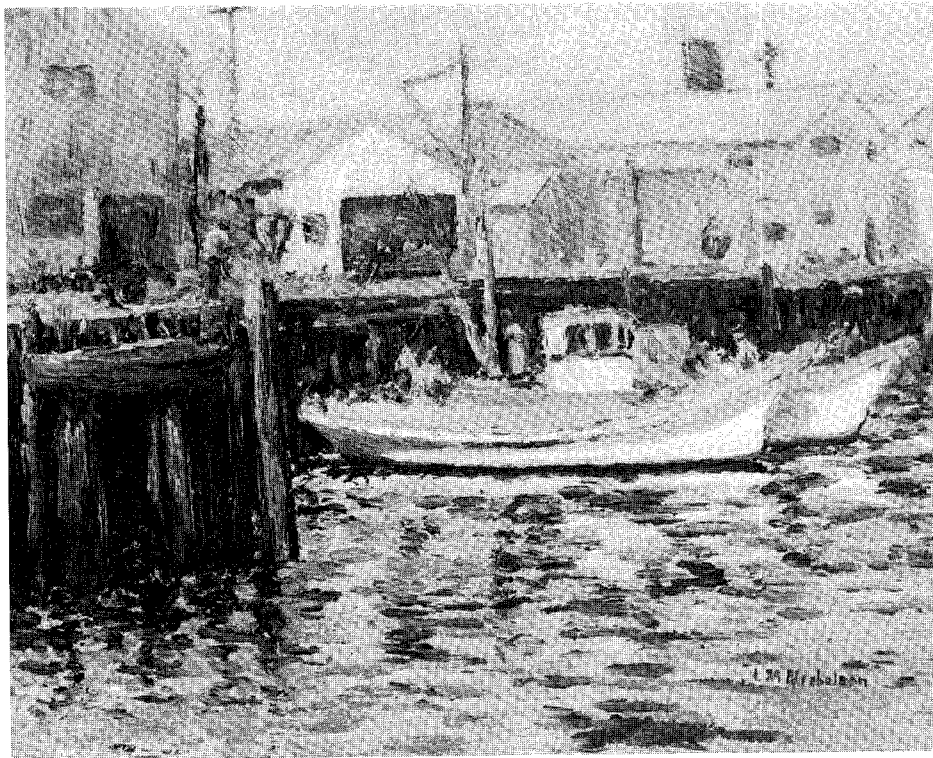
The contents are a mixture of well-written text for the lay person and a large selection of photos, vintage and recent, punctuated by special sections dealing with selected historical features. Added to this is a "Chronology of Events" section, a brief bibliographical essay and in light of the Chamber of Commerce contribution and partnership, a section which provides abbreviated histories of current firms in business and industry.

Design and layout are always difficult where text and illustrations share equal billing, but the staff designers have arranged the material in a very natural flowing way, trac-



*San Diego Stadium, which seats 50,000, helped to bring major league sports to the city following its opening in 1967.*

*"Fishing boats; Fisherman's Wharf, Monterey, California," by Lillie May Nicholson. Opposite is her painting "Street Scene, Venice Italy."*



ing San Diego historically from prehistory to recent times. While photo selection (color and black and white) is outstanding because it highlights people and events, some reproduction suffers, however, as on the map, p. 10; the sepia on pp. 30-31, and the lack of true color in some of the colorwork.

The author highlights what she regards as the keystone periods in the birthplace of California including the Founding Period, the Mexican Era, the period from 1846 to 1870 when Americans came from out of the east to change the face of the city, the time when Alonzo Horton began the new city with his Horton House and strange sized city blocks. The city experienced busts and booms at least seven times which are chronicled. During the first decade of this century, the Panama Canal, Balboa Park and the first World's Fair sparked a period of growth. During the 1920s the decade of prosperity and the 1930s decade of despair found only a Marxian relief because of the second world war, which did change the face of the town into a modern city.

After the war, with booms and busts on a minor scale, the city found a new place with aviation and the aerospace industry, with light industry and pollution free businesses. City parks, recreation, major league franchises in football, basketball, soccer and tennis among others are added attractions to a city which is considered one of the finest and cleanest in North America. Some of the more significant topics covered in depth are the water problems, in which discussion is related to the arid environment, questions over Spanish rights, the Hatfield rainmaking experiment and resulting political means to bring water from long distances to make San Diego green.

Dr. Engstrand's narrative is free flowing and smoothly written. She has in this short history given a run through

of the events significant to San Diego history while keeping in mind that she is giving word pictures of the story of the nation's ninth largest city. While other works on local history in recent times have omitted current events, her book succinctly describes the thinking and the planning of the present administrative agencies. Enhanced by its colorful design, the book is a credit to the Continental Heritage Press series.

### *Lillie May Nicholson 1884-1964: An Artist Rediscovered.*

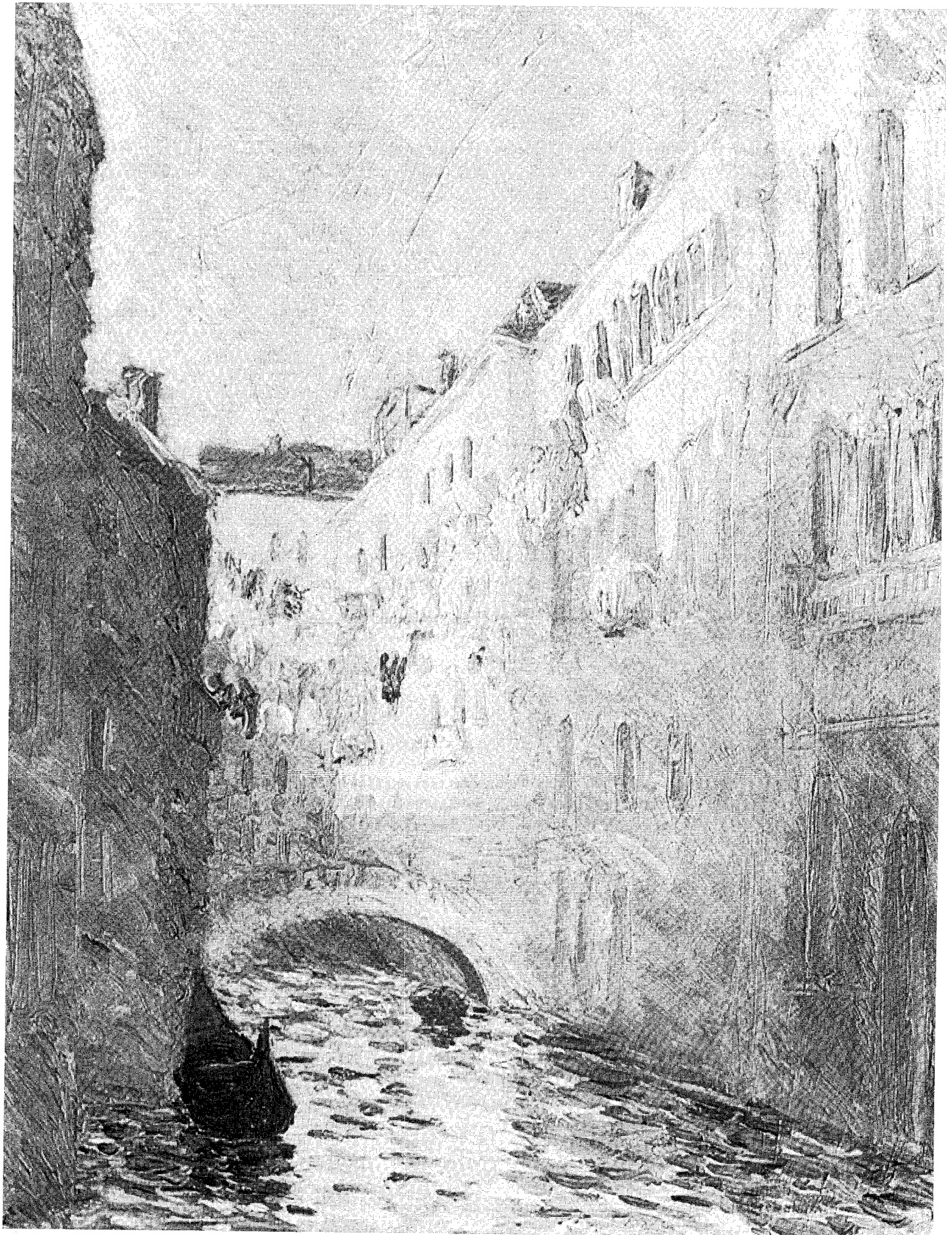
By Walter A. Nelson-Rees. Foreword by Joseph Armstrong Baird, Jr. Including a complete catalog of her known works. (Oakland: WIM, 1981. 85pp. \$35.00.)

*Reviewed by Joy Berry, CHS Reference Librarian.*

This is a wonderful example of a labor of love on the part of Dr. Walter Nelson-Rees, a scientist whose love of art led him to Lillie May Nicholson's only living sister. In April, 1979, she showed him a large number of Miss Nicholson's works hung throughout the family ranch house near Watsonville. At this time, Miss Nicholson's paint boxes, easels, and palettes were found in the wash house, along with a large collection of her paintings. When she closed her studio in Pacific Grove in 1938, Miss Nicholson stored them at the ranch in two old trunks. They included scenes of Monterey and Pacific Grove, sketches done in her youth, works of her student days at the San Francisco Art Institute, and her European paintings.

Curiously, Dr. Nelson-Rees found no mention of this







talented artist in any reviews, exhibition catalogues, or historical accounts of northern California artists of that period. According to Dr. Nelson-Rees, Miss Nicholson was lacking in self-esteem as an artist, and at one period attempted to burn all of her paintings. This plus her somewhat reclusive nature, probably account in part for her relatively obscure reputation as a painter.

Lillie May Nicholson led an interesting and unusual life. She taught arithmetic and geometry in Hawaii in her teens; later taught in Watsonville; and then spent three years in Japan teaching English and studying painting from a J. Taguchi. Miss Nicholson was thirty-two years old when she returned from Japan and enrolled in the San Francisco Institute of Art. Five years later at the age of 37, she took off for a trip around the world. She travelled widely, but artistically seemed to prefer France, judging by the number of paintings of Etaples, the French seacoast south of Bourgogne, and the waterways in northern France and Paris. Her work clearly reflects the style of the French Impressionists, and especially Claude Monet, whom she obviously admired. Sometime in the early 1920s she set up her studio in Pacific Grove, and after a long career as an artist, she went to work in her late fifties as a war-time aircraft mechanic.

It is a joy to discover Lillie May Nicholson through Dr. Nelson-Rees's book. We are indebted to him for his long hours of research, and for weaving together a colorful and interesting account of a very unusual woman and a gifted artist. The book is profusely illustrated with excellent color plates of Miss Nicholson's paintings.

*One of Benny's Faces: A Study of Beniamino Bufano, 1886-1970, The Man Behind The Artist.*

By Virginia B. Lewin (Hicksville, N.Y. (Exposition Press, 1980. ix, 226 pp. \$10.50).

*Reviewed by Hille Sonin, Head Acquisitions Librarian at the University of San Francisco.*

This is an intriguing volume about a remarkable man who for years contributed to the San Francisco tradition of eccentric celebrities. As such, many remember the legendary Benny Bufano. The book is neither a biography in the usual sense, nor a critique of Bufano as an artist. Rather, it

is an informed interpretation of the "bewildering enigma" and the mysterious plurality of personalities that was Beniamino Bufano, and a commentary on "a tragic little man whom so few really knew." In the spirit of the "subjective truth" which Bufano preferred, this study is styled as "fiction within a framework of fact."

If we enter into the spirit in which this work is presented, the story that unfolds becomes a fascinating tale which traces the artist's life from his childhood in Italy and the difficult days of an immigrant youth in New York through the early years in San Francisco and his stay in China, the romance with the author and the dramatic events of the break-up of their marriage in Paris, to its aftermath in California. All of it is replete with dialogue and incisive descriptions of emotional experiences.

The central portion of the volume is devoted to the period of the author's relationship in the mid-1920s with Bufano — ranging from idealistic romantic love to bitter disillusionment. The story covers their courtship in San Francisco, the world tour and the Paris sojourn. Much as the early chapters recount the first four decades of Bufano's life, so do the last chapters record impressions of his last four decades.

Lewin makes a sincere and serious effort to depict the famous sculptor as objectively as possible from an intimate viewpoint. Sometimes one gets the impression that the author is still attempting to fathom the essence of that flamboyant enigmatic showman of whose genius, charm, glory and spirituality she convinces the reader as she simultaneously exposes him as an unconscionable liar, an outrageous male chauvinist and a monumental egotist. Artistic techniques and creations are only discussed in so far as they inform the author's objective to illuminate the artist as a man, from the perspective of a sensitive woman. As a reflection of her own reaction to what she perceived as the tragic coarsening of Bufano's sensibilities, the author relates a disquisition by Raoul Renneau on a monumental woodcarving done by Bufano in Paris, in which Renneau assumes that the cynicism and banality of the age in which the artist lived had invaded him and changed him into its own likeness, which changed the mood and style of his art, so that the sculpture appears "heavy, rigid, nonspiritual, with machinelike perfection of detail."

While recognizing the singular focus of the book, one cannot help regretting that the world at large is not brought into sharper focus. This is particularly noticeable in the Parisian episodes, since Bufano's association with



contemporary artists is well known. More regrettable is the stylistic idiosyncrasy of constantly referring to Bufano as "the little artist." This mars the fine fabric of an otherwise interesting interpretation, which adds yet another facet to the Bufano legend.

*Santa Cruz, The Early Years, The Collected Historical Writings of Leon Rowland.*

Edited by: Michael S. Gant (Santa Cruz: Paper Vision Press, 1980. xvii, 273 pp. Notes, Index, \$7.95).

*Ghost Towns of the Santa Cruz Mountains.*

By John V. Young (Santa Cruz: Paper Vision Press, 1979. xiv, 153 pp. \$8.95).

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*Reviewed by David A. Williams, Professor Emeritus, History, California State University, Long Beach and author of David C. Broderick, a Political Portrait and co-author of California, a History of the Golden State.*

*Santa Cruz, The Early Years* is a collection of the writings on historical subjects of an able and industrious newspaperman who had an abiding interest in the history of the greater Santa Cruz area. Leon Rowland came to Santa Cruz in 1929 and shortly thereafter became a prominent member of the news world. Upon his death at sixty-seven in 1952, he was a veteran of the newspaper game, a man who had written millions of words and in the process had become a past master at the art of digging out the relevant facts, assembling them into a coherent package, and presenting them in clear readable prose. His avocation was history, especially the history of Early California and the Santa Cruz area. It was more than a mere interest as evidenced by his industrious research in far flung archives during holidays and vacations. And it is evidenced as well by the mass of material which he published over the years and which is collected within these pages.

The collection assembled and edited "with a light hand" by Michael S. Gant reflects the personal interests of Rowland. They were wide ranging around a central theme of people. He wrote of buildings and farms, of railroads and rancherias, padres and fishermen, crops and forests, ad infinitum. It is hard to envision a historical question or fact

about this area which is not likely to appear in this collection. In breath, these findings of Rowland are likely to become an indispensable aid to all serious students of Santa Cruz history, a logical starting point for innumerable inquiries. From this point, researchers will begin, and while they may go far beyond Rowland as they pursue their line of investigation, they will have reason to be thankful for his departure point. The notes which Rowland made are in the University of California at Santa Cruz library, providing, in many cases, additional leads to the researcher.

*Ghost Towns of the Santa Cruz Mountains* is also the work of a newspaper man whose work as a journalist allowed him to pursue a personal interest in local history. Assigned to a rural beat which lay between San Jose and Santa Cruz in the early 1930s, Young produced a series of feature articles on the pioneer people and places of the region which appeared in the *San Jose Mercury Herald* in 1934. It was a fortunate circumstance which brought Mr. Young to the scene at that time, for the area was still marked with the towns and settlements of yesterday, and there were any number of pioneer figures around who could contribute to his research into the recent past.

The result of his inquiring mind and the cooperation of any number of old-timers is a book which will be prized by anyone interested in local history. Collected and revised somewhat in 1979, the articles about Wright's Station, Patchen, and Mountain Charley McKiernan are written in the clear prose which newspaper men habitually use, and they provide the modern reader with interesting and illuminating sketches of a world which once existed but today is marked with few remnants of another era. It was a brief colorful period when timber, vineyards, bearfights, and railroads were prominent features of the life and times.

Both of these accounts are worthwhile products, although both have their flaws. Each tends to be episodic, comprised of short sketches loosely connected which provide the essential facts but sometimes leave the reader with a tantalizing and unsatisfied interest. Each reflects its journalist author. Each will, no doubt, be used by another author who attempts a larger work narrative of description, analysis, and interpretation.

The photograph of San Diego Stadium is courtesy of the San Diego Chargers. Copies of the Nicholson paintings were supplied by Walter A. Nelson-Rees.

## Book Notices

Compiled by Gary F. Kurutz

*The Cowboy Catalog.* By Sandra Kauffman. (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, Inc., 1980. 192 pp. \$10.95 paper, \$22.50 cloth). Lavishly illustrated and designed to appeal to modern cowboys and "city slickers" alike, it "is the complete compendium of cowboy clothes, equipment, and traditions — presenting the very best in Western gear and cowboy lore."

*Test Excavation of LAN – 1016 ah: The Ontiveros Adobe Santa Fe Springs, California.* By Vance G. Bente. (Pacific Palisades: Greenwood and Associates, 1980. 145 pp.). According to the principal investigator, Robert S. Greenwood, "This research, combining historical and archaeological investigations, resulted in a totally unexpected association with Mission San Juan Capistrano and what may be the first description and analysis of activities at the matanza."

*The Sidewalk Companion to Santa Cruz Architecture.* Revised Edition. By John Chase. (Santa Cruz: The Paper Vision Press, 1979. 374 pp. \$9.95 paper). In this revised edition, the author has added much valuable material on the area's twentieth century architecture. As well, Chase includes additional photographs, revisions, a glossary, and biographies of prominent local architects.

*The San Joaquin Valley.* By Nick Zachreson. Photographs by Richard Hammond. (Visalia-Corralitos, by the authors, 1979. \$25.00). In this superb photographic essay, the authors captured the essence of the great San Joaquin Valley. According to Hammond, "on July 4, 1978, Nick Zachreson and I embarked upon an 18-month project that would explore the San Joaquin Valley and document our experiences. The goal of our project was to give definition to the region. . . ."

*Riverman, Desertman.* By Camiel Dekens. (Rubidoux: Historical Commission Press, 1980. 111 pp. \$7.00 paper). Originally published in 1963, this second edition presents the story of the Palo Verde Valley in eastern Riverside County from 1912 to 1922. It is based on the reminiscences of Camiel Dekens as told to the newspaper writer and historian Tom Patterson.

*Catalogue of the Regional Oral History Office, 1954-1979.* By Suzanne B. Riess and Willa K. Baum, editors. (Berkeley: The Bancroft Library, University of California, 1980. 144 pp. \$6.50 paper). This valuable guide to the Bancroft Library's impressive oral history collection contains 392 entries, describing 468 interviews. "Here is ROHO's



## Book Notices

guide to San Francisco Bay Area History, California history, western history, U.S. political history, women's history, intellectual history, history of science, the arts, agriculture, land use, conservation, labor, business."

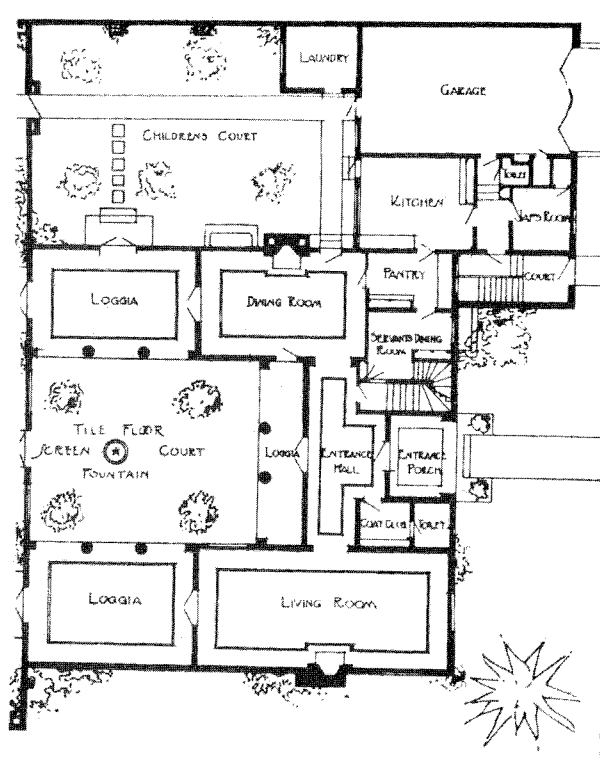
*Charles III and the Revival of Spain.* By Anthony H. Hall. (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1980. 402 pp. \$13.50 paper, \$21.00 cloth). This book provides a fine study of Spanish reform policies during the height of the Enlightenment. Such policies were the background for Spain's expansion into California in 1769.

*The Democratic Art. An Exhibition on the History of Chromolithography in America. 1840-1900.* By Peter C. Marzio. (Fort Worth, Texas: Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, 1979. 112 pp. Publisher, Box 2365 Fort Worth, Texas 76101). Marzio has written a valuable study of the art of lithography in general and provided a superb overview of the complicated chromolithographic process. He covers the work of such celebrated firms as Currier and Ives, Julius Bien, and L. Prang and Company — companies that produced such important illustrations of the American West via the colorful but little appreciated medium of the chromo.

*California Design. 1910.* By Timothy J. Anderson, Eudora M. Moore and Robert Winter, editors. (Layton, Utah: Peregrine Smith, 1980. 144 pp. \$11.95). This "lavishly" illustrated book describes the arts and crafts movement in California from 1895 to 1915 and reviews a variety of mediums that flourished at the time including painting, ceramics, pottery, furniture, and architecture. It is a reprint of the 1974 exhibit catalog.

*Rosa May: The Search for a Mining Camp Legend.* By George Williams. (Riverside: Tree by the River Publishing, 1980). Describes the story of the legendary Rosa May, "a mining camp prostitute who worked the brothels of Virginia City and Carson City, Nevada during the 1870s, 80s and 90s and . . ." her life in the mining town of Bodie.

*Day Tours in and around Los Angeles.* By J. E. Spencer, editor. (Palo Alto: Pacific Books, 1980. 368 pp. \$6.95 paper). This second edition "first presents a comprehensive overview of the entire region and then offers descriptions and carefully detailed driving directions, with maps, for fourteen one-day tours of the different parts of the Los Angeles area."



Floor plan of the Timkin house, designed by Irving Gill, is from *California Design*, 1910.

*Museums and Sites of Historical Interest in Oregon.* By Oregon Historical Society. (Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1980. 210 pp. \$5.95 paper). This useful volume provides precise information on museums, galleries, and historic sites. It is organized by county, contains maps, and includes points of interest in Northern California.

*Dictionary of American Communal and Utopian History.* By Robert S. Fogarty. (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1980. 271 pp. \$29.95). Fogarty's dictionary represents a major reference tool for this fascinating aspect of U.S. history. Included are biographies, descriptions of communities, an annotated list of communal and utopian societies, and a useful descriptive bibliography. Fogarty provides coverage of the major California experiments but excludes descriptions of Fountain Grove, Kratona, Holy City, etc.

*Mariano Malarin. A Life that Spanned Two Cultures.* By Albert Shumate. (Cupertino: California History Center, De Anza College, 1980. 37 pp.). The basis of this slender volume is the publication of Malarin's dictation to one of H. H. Bancroft's agents in 1891. One of Monterey County's most influential residents, Malarin describes life in Mexican California and the difficulties and triumphs he experienced in the decades following the American takeover. Dr. Shumate includes a lucid biographical introduction.

*Traces.* By Rick Steber, Don Gray, and Jerry Gildemeister. (Union, Oregon: The Bear Wallow Publishing Company, 1980. 212 pp. \$31.50). The story of still-living pioneers of the Oregon Trail is the subject of this colorfully illustrated volume. The publishers embellished the interviews of these pioneers with 56 pages of color plates.

*March to South Pass: Lieutenant William B. Franklin's Journal of the Kearney Expedition of 1845.* Washington, D.C. Department of the Army, Office of the Chief of Engineers, 1980. 41 pp. \$2.50). The publication of Lt. Franklin's journal is the first in a new series of the Corps of Engineers Historical Studies. According to the introduction, it complements the published accounts of Carleton and Cook relative to Kearney's march to the Rockies. As well, Franklin's narrative adds to the understanding of the Oregon Trail and operations of the frontier army.

*The Enemy Among Us. A Story of Witch-Hunting in the McCarthy Era.* By Frank Rowe. (Sacramento: Cougar Books, 1980. 157 pp. \$5.95). Rowe, in this book, retells

his experiences as a professor at San Francisco State University, subsequent dismissal for refusing to sign the loyalty oath, and his 2 year fight for reinstatement. It is an extraordinary story of one person's fight for civil liberties during an era of intellectual hysteria.

*Room and Time Enough. The Land of Mary Austin.* Photographs by Morley Baer and Introduction by Augusta Fink. (Flagstaff: Northland Press, 1979. 75 pp. \$20.00). Inspired by the writings of Mary Austin and the land she loved, photographer Baer and historian Fink have collaborated to produce this handsome publication. Baer's photographs of the Owens Valley, Monterey Peninsula, and the Southwest present a stunning view of the "land of Mary Austin."

The illustration is courtesy of Peregrine Smith Publishers.



# California Check List

By Joy Berry, *Reference Librarian*

The California Check List provides notice of publication of books, pamphlets, and monographs pertaining to the history of California. Readers knowing of recent publications, including reprints or revised editions, which need additional publicity are requested to send the following bibliographical information to the compiler of this list: Author, title, location and name of publisher, date of publication, number of pages, price, and address where item can be purchased if not carried at general bookstores.

- Allen, Peter C. *Stanford: From the Foothills to the Bay*. Stanford: Stanford Alumni Association/Stanford Historical Society, 1980. 228 pp. \$40.00.
- Andrews, Peter. *California: A Guide to Inns of California*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1980. 96 pp.
- Benediktsson, Thomas E. *George Sterling*. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1980. 183 pp. \$11.95.
- Bierce, Ambrose. *A Vision of Doom*. Compiled, edited, and introduced by Donald Sidney-Fryer. First edition. West Kingston, R.I.: Donald M. Grant, 1980. 110 pp. \$12.00.
- Bond, Marshall, Jr. *Judge Miller of Jack London's Call of the Wild*. Santa Barbara: Marshall Bond, Jr., 1980. 25 pp. Available at: Jack London Museum, Box 337, Glen Ellen, CA 95442. \$2.85.
- Brown, Peter H. *The Real Oscar: The Story Behind the Academy Awards*. New York: Arlington House, 1981. \$15.95.
- California Institute for Rural Studies. *Getting Bigger: Large Scale Farming in California, and 1978 Directory of California's 200 Largest Farm Operators*. Davis: California Institute for Rural Studies, 1980. 104 pp.
- Campbell, John Carden. *Houses of Gold*. San Diego: Howell-North Books, 1981. 160 pp. \$15.00.
- Chaney, Lindsay and Michael Cieply. *The Hearsts: Family and Empire - The Later Years*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1981. \$16.95.
- Charlton, Leigh and Annette Swanberg. *Glad Rags II*. San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1981. Publisher, 870 Market, Suite 915, San Francisco, 94102. \$7.95 (paper).
- Chen, Jack. *The Chinese of America*. New York: Harper & Row, 1981. 288 pp. \$15.95.
- Cogan, Sara G. *The Jews of Los Angeles, 1849-1945*. Berkeley: Judah L. Magnes Memorial Museum, 1980. 237 pp. Publisher, 2911 Russell St., Berkeley, 94705. \$28.07 (cloth); \$17.42 (paper).
- Cole, Weston. *Eighteen Photographs*. Foreword by Ben Maddow. Introduction by Charis Wilson. Layton, Utah: Peregrine Smith, Inc., 1981. 56 pp. \$19.95 (paper); \$300.00 (cloth, limited edition).
- Colombo, John Robert. *Popcorn in Paradise: The Wit and Wisdom of Hollywood*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1980.
- Conley, Frances. *First Settlers, The Castros of Rancho San Pablo*. San Pablo: San Pablo Historical and Museum Society, 1980. 27 pp. Publisher, 1 Alvarado Square, San Pablo, 94806. \$2.50.
- Culliney, John L. *Exploring Underwater: The Sierra Club Guide to Scuba and Snorkling*. San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1980.
- Davis, Douglas F. *The White Redwoods: Ghosts of the Forest*. Happy Camp: Naturegraph Publishers, 1980. Publisher, 3543 Indian Creek Road, Happy Camp, 96039.
- Dillon, Richard. *Great Expectations: The Story of Benicia, California*. Benicia: Benicia Heritage Books, Inc., 1981. Publisher, c/o Bank of America, Post Office Box 37, Benicia, 94510. \$17.50.
- Doran, Adelaide LeMert. *Pieces of Eight: Channel Islands. A Bibliographical Guide and Source Book*. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1981. 340 pp. \$26.50.
- Dunscomb, Guy L. and Fred A. Stindt. *Western Pacific Steam Locomotives, Passenger Trains and Cars*. Authors, 1981. Authors, Guy L. Dunscomb, 2502 Fremont Ave., Modesto, 95350; or Fred A. Stindt, 3353 Riviera West Dr., Kelseyville, 95451. \$40.81.

- Elliott, Virgil L. *San Francisco Statistical Abstract, 1980*. San Francisco: Statistical Press, 1980. Publisher, P.O. Box 11019, San Francisco, 94103. \$4.50.
- Finnerty, W. Patrick, et al. *Community Structure and Trade at Isthmus Cove: A Salvage Excavation on Catalina Island*. Reprint. Ramona: Acoma Books, 1981. 31 pp. Publisher, P.O. Box 4, Ramona, 92065. \$2.95.
- Foreman, Richard L. *Indian Water Rights: A Public Policy and Administrative Mess*. Phoenix, AZ: Interstate Printers & Publishers, Inc., 1981. 246 pp. Author, Dept. of Governmental Affairs, Salt River Project, P.O. Box 1980, Phoenix, 85001. \$8.95.
- Foster, Lee. *Backyard Farming*. San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1981. Publisher, 870 Market, Suite 915, San Francisco, 94102. \$4.95 (paper).
- Garate, Donald T. *Echandia: The Unique Story of a Basque Immigrant*. Susanville: Lassen County Historical Society, 1980. 106 pp. Publisher, P.O. Box 321, Susanville, 96130. \$6.50.
- Gilbert, Benjamin F. *Washington Square, 1857-1979: The History of San Jose State University*. 223 pp.
- Gleye, Paul. *The Architecture of Los Angeles*. San Diego: Howell-North Books, 1981. 236 pp. \$35.00.
- Grosser, Morton. *Gossamer Odyssey: The Triumph of Human-Powered Flight*. New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1981. \$14.95.
- Hart, Herbert M. *Tour Guide to Old West of Oregon, Idaho, Washington and California*. Boulder, Colorado: Pruett Publishing Co. and Ft. Collins, Colorado: The Old Army Press, 1981. 54 pp. Pruett Publishing Co., 3235 Prairie Ave., Boulder, Colorado, 80301. \$3.95.
- Hart, Herbert M. *Tour Guide to Old Western Forts*. Boulder, Colorado: Pruett Publishing Co., 1980. 212 pp. Publisher, 3235 Prairie Ave., Boulder, CO 80301. \$22.50.
- Heaston, Michael D. *From Mississippi to California*. Austin, Texas: Jenkins Publishing Company, 1981.
- Higman, Charles. *Errol Flynn: The Untold Story*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1980. 370 pp.
- Hoffman, Will. *Sagas of Old Western Travel and Transport*. San Diego: Howell-North Books, 1981. 288 pp. \$25.00.
- Howard, Donald M. *Bastions By the Bay: New Documentation on the Royal Presidio of Monterey*. Carmel: Monterey County Archaeological Society, 1981. Publisher, P.O. Box 4606, Carmel, 93921. \$16.95.
- Hymen, Dian Davis. *Sew, Recycle, and Save*. San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1981. Publisher, 870 Market, Suite 915, San Francisco, 94102. \$4.95 (paper).
- Jacobs, Diane. *Hollywood Renaissance*. New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1980.
- Kahn, Judd. *Imperial San Francisco: Politics and Planning in an American City, 1897-1906*. Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1979. 263 pp. \$17.95.
- Kauffman, Sandra. *The Cowboy Catalog*. New York: Clarkson N. Potter, 1980. 192 pp.
- Keeler, Charles. *The Simple Home*. 1904. Reprint. Layton, Utah: Peregrine Smith, Inc., 1981. 120 pp. \$9.95 (cloth).
- Kostilbas-Davis, James. *The Barrymores: The Royal Family in Hollywood*. New York: Crown, 1981. \$19.95.
- Lamour, Dorothy. *My Side of the Road*, as told to Dick McInnes. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1980.
- Lane, Mark. *The Strongest Poison*. New York: Hawthorne Books, 1980. 494 pp.
- Lewis, Oscar. *San Francisco: Mission to Metropolis*. 2nd edition. San Diego: Howell-North Books, 1981. 288 pp. \$25.00.
- Livsey, Clara G. *The Manson Women: A "Family" Portrait*. New York: Richard Marek Publishers, 1980. 244 pp.
- Minshall, Herbert L. *Window on the Sea*. La Jolla: Copley Books. 190 pp. Publisher, P.O. Box 957, La Jolla, 92038.
- McGuckin, John H. *St. Paul's Parish: A Century of Service, 1889-1980*. San Francisco: St. Paul's Parish, 1980. Publisher, 221 Valley St., San Francisco, 94113.
- Mack, Gerstle. *Surviving the Great Earthquake and Fire*. San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1981. Publisher, 870 Market, Suite 915, San Francisco, 94102. \$5.95 (paper).
- Mueller, Kimberly. *California Museum Directory: A Guide to Museums, Zoos, Botanic Gardens, and Similar Institutions in the Golden State*. Claremont: California Institute of Public Affairs, 1980. 167 pp. Publisher, P.O. Box 10, Claremont, 91711.
- Narell, Irena. *Our City: The Jews of San Francisco*. San Diego: Howell-North Books, 1981. \$25.00.
- Navasky, Victor S. *Naming Names*. New York: Viking Press, 1981. 452 pp. \$15.95.
- Nelson-Rees, Walter A. *Lillie May Nicholson, 1884-1964: An Artist Rediscovered*. Oakland: Walter Nelson-Rees, 1981. 85 pp. Author, 6000 Contra Costa Rd., Oakland, 94618.
- Paffrath, James D. et al. *From the Ground Up: The Golden Anniversary Book of the Santa Paula Airport, Under the Auspices of the Santa Paula Open House Committee*. Thousand Oaks: Josten's American Yearbook Co., 1980. 160 pp. Screaming Eagle Aviation, 822 E. Santa Maria St., Santa Paula, 93060. \$22.95.
- Palmquist, Peter E. *Lawrence & Houseworth/Thomas Houseworth & Co.: A Unique View of the West, 1860-1886*. Columbus, Ohio: National Stereoscopic Association, Inc., 1981. Publisher, P.O. Box 14801, Columbus, Ohio 43214. \$22.95.
- Powers, Bob. *Indian Country of the Tubatulabal*. Kernville: Bob Powers, 1981. Publisher, Box 204, Kernville, 93238. \$18.00.
- Prokupek, Milan. *Manka's Czech Cookbook and Memoirs. My Own Story and How My Mother Cooked in Prague and How We Cook Now in Inverness California*. In collaboration with Barbara Gunn. Inverness: Author, 1980. 200 pp. Author, Callendar Way and Argyle, Inverness 94937. \$9.95.
- Quinn, Arthur. *Broken Shore: The Marin Peninsula, a Perspective on California History*. Layton, Utah: Peregrine Smith, Inc., 1981. \$12.95.
- Read, Ethel Matson. *Lo, the poor Indian. A Saga of the Suisun Indians of California*. Fresno: Panorama West Books, 1980. 590 pp. Publisher, Box 4647, Fresno, 93744. \$18.00 (cloth); \$10.00 (paper).



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- Reston, James, Jr. *Our Father Who Art in Hell: The Life and Death of Jim Jones*. New York: Times Books, 1981. \$14.95.
- Riggs, Susan F. *A Catalogue of the John Steinbeck Collection at Stanford University*. Stanford: Stanford University Libraries, 1980. 216 pp. Publisher, Green Library, Stanford University, Stanford, 94305. \$20.00.
- Rolfe, Lionel. *Literary L.A.* San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1981. Publisher, 870 Market, Suite 915, San Francisco, 94102. \$5.95 (paper).
- Rosenbaum, Fred. *Architects of Reform: Congregation and Community Leadership Emanu-El of San Francisco, 1849-1980*. Berkeley: Magnes Museum, 1980. Publisher, 2911 Russell St., Berkeley, 94705. \$19.95 (cloth); \$9.95 (paper).
- Rowers, Barbara. *Grace Slick: The Biography*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1980.
- Rowland, Leon. *Santa Cruz: The Early Years*. Santa Cruz: Paper Vision Press, 1980. 273 pp. Publisher, 1111 Pacific Ave., Santa Cruz, 95060. \$7.95 (paper).
- Rowntree, Lester. *Hardy Californians*. Reprint. Layton, Utah: Peregrine Smith, Inc. 356 pp. \$8.95 (paper).
- Ryan, Frances B. and Lewis C. *Escondido As It Was 1900-1950*. Escondido: Frances B. & Lewis C. Ryan, 1980. 176 pp. Author, 3249 E. Valley Parkway, Escondido, 92027. \$25.00.
- Sargent, Shirley. *Seeking the Elephant, 1849: James Mason Hutchings' Journal of His Overland Trek to California*. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark, 1981. Publisher, P.O. Box 230, Glendale, 91209. \$30.00.
- Saul, Eric and Don DeNevi. *The Great San Francisco Earthquake and Fire, 1906*. Millbrae: Celestial Arts, 1981. \$25.00.
- Schatz, Thomas. *Hollywood Genres: Formulas, Film-making, and the Studio System*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981. \$19.95.
- Schwartz, Ted. *The Hillside Strangler: A Murderer's Mind*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1981. \$12.95.
- Simmons, Marc and Frank Turley. *Southwestern Colonial Ironwork: The Spanish Blacksmithing Tradition from Texas to California*. Santa Fe, NM: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1981. 216 pp. Publisher, P.O. Box 2087S, Santa Fe, 87503. \$25.95 (cloth); \$14.95 (paper).
- Sleeper, Jim. *Great Movies Shot in Orange County*. Trabuco Canyon: California Classics, 1980. 208 pp. Publisher, Box 291, Trabuco Canyon, 92678. \$15.00.
- Small Museums of the West*. San Francisco: California Living, 1981. Publisher, Hearst Bldg, Suite 223, Third and Market, San Francisco, 94103. \$9.95 (paper).
- Smith, Hedrick, Adam Clymer, Leonard Silk, Robert Lindsey and Richard Burt. *Reagan: The Man, the President*. New York: Macmillan, 1981. 186 pp. \$9.95.
- Smith, Murphy D. *Sherman Day: Artist, Forty-niner, Engineer*. Wilmington, Delaware: Michael Blazier, Inc. 1980. 127 pp. Publisher, 1210A King St., Wilmington, Delaware 19801.
- Spiegel, Janet. *Stretching the Food Dollar*. San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1981. Publisher, 870 Market, Suite 915, San Francisco, 94102. \$4.95 (paper).
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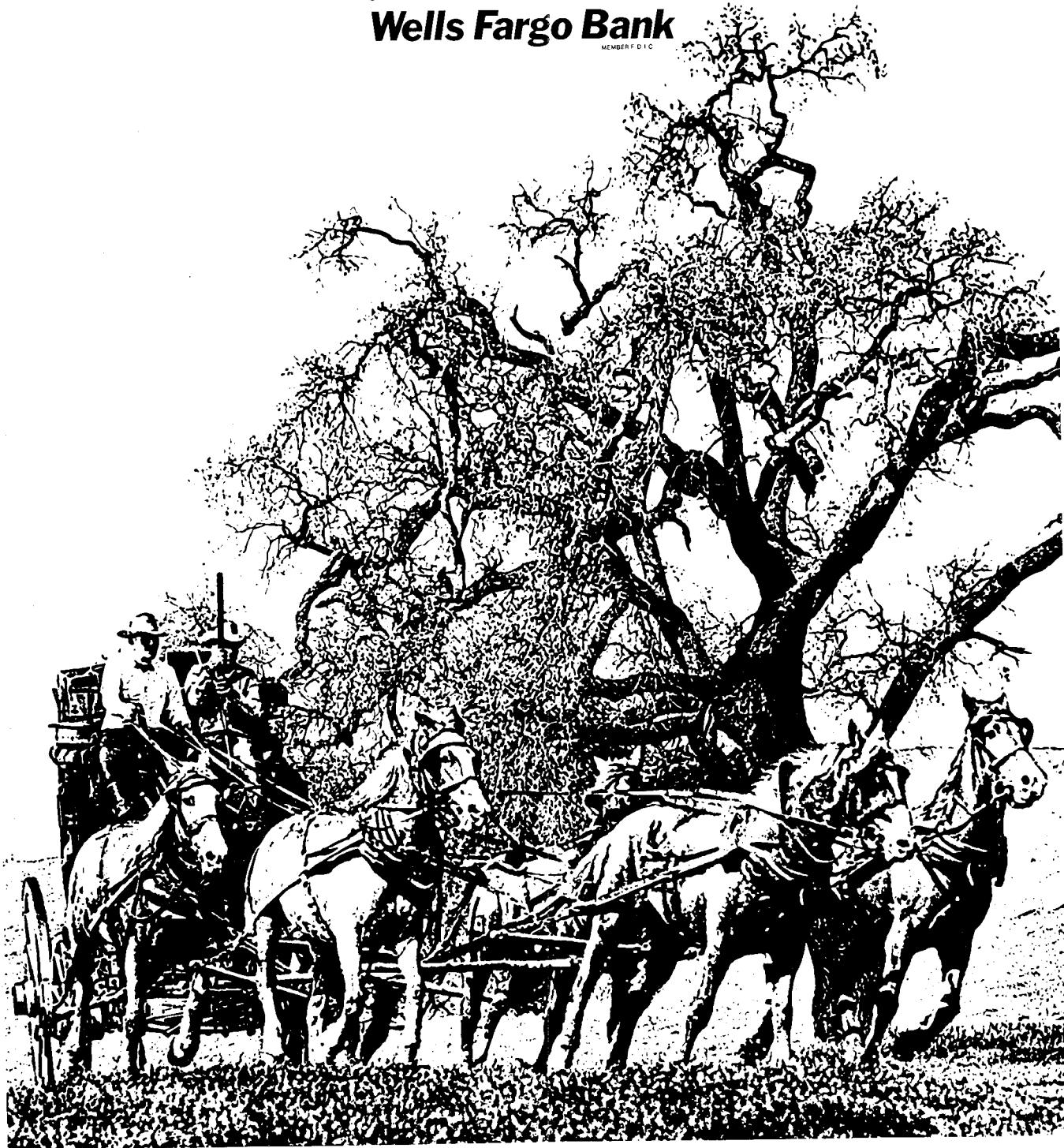
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